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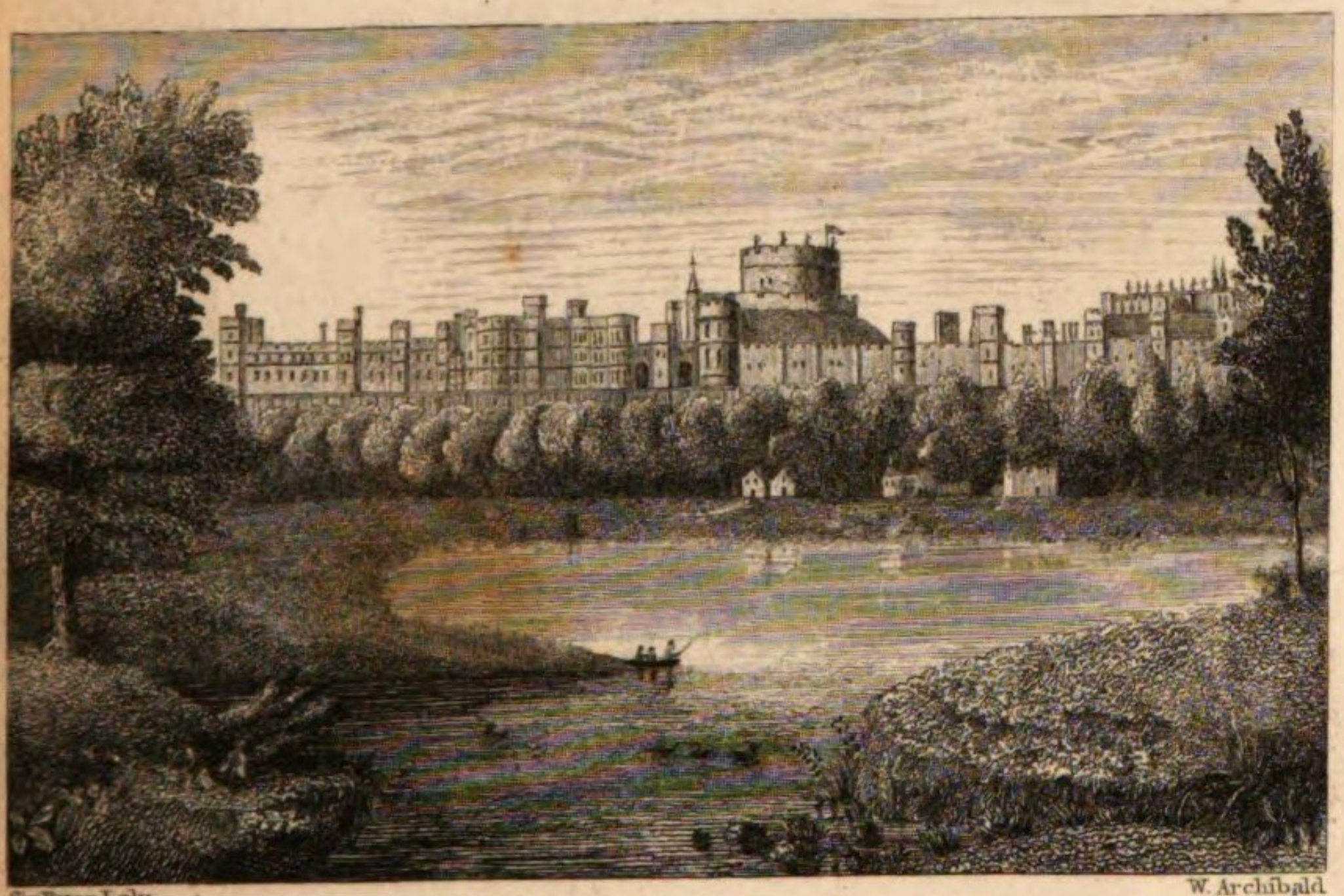

Sir Peter Lely — W. Archibald

WINDSOR CASTLE DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

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THE LIFE

OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LIFE

OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES'S JOURNEY TO LONDON.

1603.

It would appear that the hesitation of King James, on receiving Carey's intelligence of the death of Elizabeth, was not without some corresponding feelings of the same kind on the part of the English councillors; for they are said to have spent fully six hours in feeling each other's pulses, before they came to the resolution of proclaiming the Scottish monarch as their sovereign. Elizabeth, indeed, had impressed men with such fears on the subject of the succession, and there was so much real danger of offending against some of her statutes, by acknowledging any particular successor whatever, that they might well be justified in pausing to learn the general sentiments, before they ventured upon this decisive step. There was a personal and nominal respectability in Elizabeth, which did not leave her

even after she was dead; and, as Falstaff trembled to approach even the lifeless corpse of the Scottish warrior whom he had lately seen fighting with such vigour, so also did the ministers of this lion-hearted princess scruple to take any liberties with what she had guarded in life so jealously and so well. It was not till they found themselves unanimous in favour of James, as the most rightful, and also the most eligible, claimant of the crown, that they came to the resolution of announcing him in that character to the people. No sooner, however, was this unanimity ascertained, than they proceeded in a style of heartiness, such as amply proved how clear they held his title, in comparison with that of any other competitor.

When their deliberations were finished, a proclamation was drawn up, and immediately uttered at the gates of Whitehall. It was signed by about thirty Peers, spiritual and temporal; and the man who read it was the most influential in the kingdom, Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State. It was immediately after uttered a second time at the west side of the High Cross in Cheapside, in presence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and of an immense concourse of the common people, who testified their approbation by shouts of "God save King James!" The proclamation contained an account of James's descent from Henry VII., and an assertion of his being the nearest in blood to the deceased sovereign; after which was a warm panegyric upon his character. There can be no doubt that, in the concoction of this document, and also the resolution of the Council in favour of James, Secretary Cecil was the principal instrument.

The news of Elizabeth's death being generally circulated over the country before any account of this proclamation, or of the resolution of the Council, the sheriffs of the counties and the magistrates of towns were thrown into a state of considerable agitation, and even alarm, regarding the line of duty which they ought to follow under such extraordinary circumstances. Thus, as the intelligence of the London proclamation reached them after different intervals of time, their proclamations resembled the straggling fire of an ill-disciplined regiment of militia, where one company takes its cue from the conduct of another, instead of the whole being directed by one general command. Only one sheriff, out of the whole number of these officers, had the hardihood to proclaim King James before receiving instructions from the Council. This was Sir Benjamin Tichborne, sheriff of Hampshire, a Catholic. He no sooner heard of Elizabeth's decease, than he hurried over to Winchester, from his country seat in the neighbourhood, and declared James to be King of England. James was himself so much pleased with this spirited act of service, that, after his settlement in England, he made a grant to Sir Benjamin, and his heirs for ever, in fee favour, of the royal castle in Winchester, with a yearly pension of 100*l.* during his own life, and that of his eldest son, Richard Tichborne, whom he also knighted. *

Similar to this was the conduct of the good town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the magistrates of which, hearing on Saturday of the death of Elizabeth, by

* Milner's Winchester, i. 389; apud Nichols's Progresses of King James.

a message from Sir Robert Carey, which that expeditious courier had despatched to them in his progress, immediately wrote a letter to James, tendering him their allegiance and loving duty. This letter reached him on Sunday morning, before the official announcement of his succession. Much gratified by the promptitude and zeal displayed by this portion of his new subjects, he returned them a letter that very day, thanking them for their offers of duty, and assuring them that he should prove to them a most 'gracious and loving prince,' who should be careful to maintain their wonted liberties and privileges, and see 'that the same be na wayes brangillit nor utherwayes prejudgit.' He next day sent Lord Holyroodhouse to receive their allegiance in official form; and from the report which this nobleman brought back, of 'the triumph, love, and kindness he had been entreated with, and with what hearty applause the name of King James was received' by the community of this ancient town, it is affirmed that the King first conceived assurance of the flattering reception which he was destined to meet with in his new kingdom.

Early in the week, James received visits from a great number of the more influential men of both his kingdoms, who came with the profession of congratulating him, but in reality to bespeak favour to themselves, or to remind him of former promises. Among the earliest and most acceptable of his visitors was John Payton, son of Sir John Payton, lieutenant of the Tower of London, a personage whom, it will be recollected, he gave orders to have conciliated to his interest some years before. He was so much pleased to learn that this

important officer was true to him, that he conferred the honour of knighthood on young Payton, being the first time he had exercised that part of his prerogative on an Englishman; whence he ever afterwards called Payton *his first Knight.* The third person who came to him, was Sir Lewis Pickering, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, and a puritan, who, conceiving that his party might be advantaged by a priority of application, made haste to bespeak his Majesty's favour to that sect, before any deputation should arrive from the established church. He came last, however, in the best sense of the word; for his application was attended with no good effects to his party. James, two or three days after, received, by the hands of Dr Thomas Neville, dean of Canterbury, an address from the Church of England, tendering him the bounden duty of its members, and praying to know 'his pleasure for the ordering and guiding of ecclesiastical causes;' to which address he returned an answer, assuring those who sent it, that he was resolved to maintain the church as it had been settled by the late Queen.

During the course of this important week, James and the English council had several interchanges of letters and messages; and he testified his gratitude to the late Earl of Essex, by ordering all who were confined in the Tower on account of his insurrection to be liberated. Among the number was the Earl of Southampton. An amusing circumstance took place, when the royal messenger, Roger Aston, was for the first time brought before the English Privy Council. Being asked how the King did, Aston answered, in the full breadth of his northern dialect, "E'en, my lords, like a

puir man, that hath been wandering in the wilderness for forty years, and has at last come within sight of the Land of Promise!" Aston had formerly been the King's barber.

On the 31st of March, James was proclaimed at the cross of his native city, amidst mingled cries of joy and lamentation—joy for his good fortune, in which the people most heartily sympathized—and grief for the prospect of his leaving the country. On the evening of that day, the people kindled bon-fires in and about the city, and testified, by every means in their power, the pleasure which they felt on this auspicious occasion.

On the succeeding Sunday, April 3, he attended public worship in the principal church of the city, for the purpose of taking a formal farewell of his people. The minister, Mr John Hall, took occasion to point out the great mercies of God towards his Majesty, among which his peaceable succession to the throne of England was none of the least conspicuous. 'This,' he said, 'was God's own proper work; for who could else have directed the hearts of so numerous a people, with such an unanimous consent, to follow the way of right!'

At the end of the sermon, James rose up in his seat, and delivered the following speech to the congregation:—'Because that your preacher has spoken something in the harangue and discourse to the people, that as ye have matter by my presence to rejoice, sae ye have also matter by my absence to be sorrowful; but I say it is a matter of rejoicing not only to me, but to all them that love my standing; for this cause I thocht gude to speak to all gude people of all ranks, that ye may know it

was never my intention to usurp your crown, but being als lineally descended heir to the crown of England as to the crown of Scotland, as I was born richteous heir of the ane, sae am I richteous and mair richteous of the other; and as my love could never be fra that country, sae now my expectations have never been frustrat; and as your preachers have said baith learnedly and wisely, gif now my love be less for you, my people, what micht ye think of me, but that I be ane troker of kingdoms. Ye maun put ane difference betwixt ane King lawfully callit to a kingdom and ane usurper of ane kingdom, as the King of France came sometime (lately) frae ane kingdom to ane other, sometime fra France to Pow, and fra Pow to France, and could not bruik baith; as my richt is united in my person, for my marches are united by land and not by sea, sae that there is no difference betwixt them. There is nae mair difference betwixt London and Edinburgh, yea not sae meikle, than there is betwixt Inverness or Aberdeen and Edinburgh, for all our marches are dry, and there is nae ferries betwixt them. But my course maun be betwixt baith—to establish peace, and religion, and wealth betwixt baith the countries, and as God has joined the trust of baith the kingdoms in my person, sae ye may be joined in wealth, in religion, in hearts and affections; and as the ane country has wealth, and the other has multitude of men, sae ye may pairt the gifts, and every ane do as they may to help other. And as God has removit me to ane greater power than I had, sae I maun endeavour myself to nourish and establish religion, and to tak away the corruptions of baith countries. And, on the other part, ye mister not

doubt, but as I have ane body as able as ony King in Europe, whereby I am able to travel, sae I sall vizzie you every three year at the least, or efter as I sall have occasion, (for sae I have written in my buke direct to my son, and it war a shame to me not to perform that thing that I have written), that I may with my awin mouth tak a compt of justice, and of them that are under me, and that you yourselves may see and hear me, and fra the meanest to the greatest have access to my person, and pour out your complaints in my bosom. This sall ever be my course. Therefore, think not of me as of ane King going fra ane part to ane other, but of ane King, lawfully callit, going frae ane part of the isle to ane other, that sae your comfort may be the greater; and where I thocht to have employed you with your arms, I now employ only your hearts, to the gude prospering of me in my success and journey. I have nae mair to say, but pray for me.' *

The effect of this harangue was such as to dissolve the assemblage in tears; for, however unpopular some of James's measures had been, especially those connected with the church, his easy and kindly manners, and his sincere attention to the public interests, had rendered him very much, and very generally beloved, in Scotland. He himself was sensibly moved, in return, by these marks of the affection of his subjects; and, when the magistrates afterwards came to receive his commands, he spoke to them in the most tender and affectionate manner, assuring them, that as his

* Copied, with reduction of orthography, from Wodrow's MS. Collections, folio, vol. xliii. article 63, Advocates' Library.

power to befriend them was now increased, so also was his inclination.

On Tuesday, the 5th of April, after having taken measures for the government of Scotland in his absence, and made arrangements for the future journey of his family, he set out from Edinburgh for London; accompanied by a considerable train of both English and Scotch, and followed by the blessings of many thousands of his native subjects. It was a strange, but perhaps a characteristic piece of conduct, that he took leave of his wife on the public street, thereby exciting the feelings of his people to a greater degree than even before.* Such of his countrymen as he had appointed to attend him into England, were chiefly those who had approved themselves his most steadfast friends before he *came to his kingdom*; the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Mar, Murray, and Argyle, the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume of Dunbar, (Treasurer,) Sir James Elphinstone, (Secretary,) Sir David Murray, (Comptroller,) Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; with the ordinary gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and six or seven individuals of the clergy. He was also accompanied by the French ambassador, whose wife happened to be so weak at this time, that she was carried in a slung chair, all the way to London, by eight porters, four of them to relieve the others.

Gallantly attended, and gay in heart, King James rode forward along that road which, according to the sarcastic remark of Dr Johnson, forms the most delightful prospect that Scotland can boast of: assuredly, no man ever paced it before or since who

* Nichols' Progresses of King James I, *vol.* I. p. 411.

had greater reason to acknowledge the pleasantness of the view. It was looked upon, however, as a bad omen, that, just as he approached Seton House, about twelve English miles from Edinburgh, a long lugubrious train was observed to devolve from the exterior gate of that mansion, being the funeral procession of the noble owner of the house, Robert, first Earl of Winton, distinguished for adherence to Queen Mary, and one of whose sons was now President of the Court of Session, and intrusted, on this occasion, with the keeping of the Duke of Albany, James's second son.* The King, mirthful as he was, was solemnly impressed with this incident, and gave orders to stop his attendant cavalcade at the corner of the wall of the court-yard, till the remains of his mother's friend should be deposited in the adjacent church, whither the funeral company was proceeding.†

At his loyal burghs of Haddington and Dunbar, if any faith is to be placed in tradition, James was most joyously received, although he could spend but little time in either. He lodged that night in Dunglass Castle, the seat of his favourite counsellor, Lord Hume. Next day, April 6, he advanced towards Berwick, his train much increased by the gentlemen of the country, who came pouring in to congratulate him. Among others who joined him on this day's march, were the wardens of the Borders, English as well as Scottish; these officers being now seen in company for the first time. At the extremity of what are called the liberties of Berwick—a district extending a-

* Afterwards Charles I.

† This incident has been given, from tradition, by Sir Walter Scott, in more than one of his delightful works.

bout a mile round the walls—he was met by the governor and his whole council of war, the constables and captains, the band of gentlemen-pensioners, and many private citizens of that ancient town. This was the first occasion on which he received the homage of any part of the military force of his new kingdom. On his approaching the gate by which he was to enter the town, he was saluted by a tremendous peal of ordnance, which in an instant shrouded the whole walls from his view,—being the most simultaneous volley, according to a contemporary writer, which was ever discharged in that place within the memory of any member of the garrison, although some of them had been there since the days of King Henry the Eighth, nearly sixty years before. * This cloud, according to the same writer, vanished before the radiant face of approaching Majesty, as the vapours of the sky fly before the morning sun. James was met at the gate by Mr William Selby, gentleman-porter of Berwick, who came out, in right of his office, to deliver up the keys of the ports to their supreme proprietor. After entering, his Majesty gave back the keys to Selby, upon whom he at the same time conferred the honour of knighthood, as the first man who had put him in possession of any part of the property of his new kingdom.

The splendour of his reception was a little dulled by a slight shower, which at this moment began to fall. As it was, he progressed through streets lined with obeisant soldiers, and filled with

* 'And there are some olde King Harrie's lads in Berwick, I can tell you.'—*True Narrative of the Entertainment of his Royal Majesty, &c. apud Nichols's Progresses.*

acclaiming multitudes, to the market-place, where he was received with a congratulatory speech by the magistrates. On his name being pronounced in this speech as the first King of the whole isle of Britain, the people knelt on the earth, to express their homage, and then, rising again, uttered the most extravagant cries of joy—insomuch, that a person present thought they had been all struck simultaneously by a fit of madness. Here James was presented, according to the custom of that age, with a purse of gold, which he said he accepted as a token of the affection which the inhabitants carried towards his person. Those ceremonies ended,—they would have been much more elaborate but for the rain,—he proceeded to the church, where, after he had rendered thanks to God for the prosperity which had hitherto attended him, (a custom he is said to have always observed after a journey), he was regaled with a sermon by the famous Toby Mathew, Bishop of Durham, to whom this honour fell as a matter of course, Berwick being within his diocess.

It was not till after he had thus attended public worship, that he went to the house prepared for his reception, or partook of any refreshment. After he was housed, the rain passed away, and permitted the sun to break forth. One of his principal officers remarked, with an expression of surprise, how suddenly the day had been overcast as his Majesty was entering the town, and how suddenly it had again been cleared up. "Oh, no great matter," said the King with a smile; "suppose the first fair weather we had in the morning to represent the auspicious commencement of my journey, the showers to stand for the universal tears

of my country at parting with their King, then this sudden re-appearance of sunshine must emblematise the joy of England for my approach." * This may be accepted as a specimen of the *witty pertinent speeches* which are so often talked of with admiration by the more loyal of James's historians.

He spent the whole of the next day in Berwick, chiefly whiling away the time by inspecting the fortifications of the place, which, being very complete in every respect, and a sight perfectly new to him, must have amused and impressed his mind in no small degree. To testify the respect in which he held the military art, he shot off a cannon with his own royal hand, 'so faire,' says the flattering narrator of his progress, 'and *with such signe of experience*, that the most expert gunners there beheld it not without admiration, and there was none of just judgment present, but without flattery gave it just commendation.' 'Of no little estimation,' adds the same writer, 'did the gunners account themselves in, after this kingly shot. But his Majestie, above all virtues, in temperance most excellent, left that part of the wall and their extraordinary applause, and returned to his palace, and there reposed till the next day.'

On Friday, the 8th of April, James crossed the Tweed and entered the county of Northumberland, the sheriffs of which, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, were ready to give him welcome. In the course of this day's journey, he visited an aged soldier called Sir William Reid, who, though blind with age, declared himself so

* Nichols' Progresses, i. 412.

cheered by the gracious presence of his sovereign, as to feel all the warmth of youth revived in his blood. From the residence of this veteran, to Widdrington Castle, where he was to lodge for the night, the distance was thirty-seven north-country miles; yet he rode over that ground in the incredibly short space of four hours. At Widdrington, he was entertained by Sir Robert Carey, owner of the mansion, who, as might be expected, proved a most complaisant host. While viewing the park that afternoon, James happened to espy some deer straying at a little distance; and notwithstanding the fatigues of his journey, he could not resist the passion excited by the sight, but began a hunting, from which he did not desist till two of the animals were slain.

Arriving at Newcastle next day, he spent that which followed (Sunday) in devotion, and on Monday released all the prisoners from the jails, except those who were confined for 'treason, murder, or *papistrie*,' giving great sums out of his own purse for the release of the debtors. He remained in Newcastle till Wednesday morning, his whole expenses borne by the citizens.

His journey on Wednesday, April 13th, was from Newcastle to Durham, including a digression which he made to Lumley Castle, the seat of Lord Lumley, which splendid place he viewed with much admiration. At Durham, he was entertained in the Episcopal palace, by the Bishop, the same Toby Mathew who preached to him at Berwick; and as this prelate was almost as eminent a sayer of good things as James himself, the royal conversation during the evening is said to have been uncommonly brilliant. On Thursday, April 14th,

his Majesty progressed to Walworth, the seat of Mrs Genison, widow of a gentleman who had been in the service of Queen Elizabeth; by whom he was 'bountifully entertained to his very high contentment.' In the course of this day's journey, he set himself down on the high grounds above Haughton-le-side, to enjoy the beatific vision which was there opened to him—the fairest portion of Yorkshire, in its turn the fairest portion of England—the gallant Tees, with all its woodlands, pastures, feedings, and farmholds, stretched out in quiet beauty, and, as it were, inviting him to come on and take possession: a scene presenting such a contrast to the *paupera regna*, which he had left behind in the north, as must have almost bewildered his senses, or disposed him, at least, says a spirited writer,* had he been a man of common character—to exclaim, in the words which a poet has since fancied for a similar occasion,

> 'Where's the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land!'†

In all probability, as James sat with his legs crossed, on this delightful spot—for such was his attitude, the place from that circumstance being still called *Cross-Legs*—he only congratulated himself on having been born with the sacred and indefeasible right to inherit and possess so much good land, or, like a true Scotsman, might endeavour to erect the Carse of Gowry, or the plains of East Lothian, into a parallel place in his estimation with the fair scene before him. James, it

* Mr Surtees, in his History of the County Palatine of Durham.

† Marmion.

must be observed, was too much impressed with a sense of his hereditary right to his new kingdom, to be very much elevated with his succession to it. In a letter to his son before quitting Scotland, he says he was a king before, and he is now no more than a king; a sentiment full of pride; and, if he allows that this accession of kingdoms brings an increase of honour and greatness, he says it also brings a proportionate increase of cares.

He advanced, next day, from the hospitable seat of Mrs Genison, to the house of a Mr Ingleby, near Topcliffe, being attended by the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, who, with a gallant train, had met him by the way. From Topcliffe, he proceeded on Saturday to York, the Sheriffs of which met him at the extremity of the liberties, three miles from the city, where they presented him with their white staves. Within a mile of York, he was saluted by Lord Burleigh, (elder brother to his faithful friend Cecil,) who was President of the Council in the North of England, and by far the most important officer who had yet given him welcome. Attended by this nobleman and his retinue, by the sheriffs of the city and county, and by his own proper train, which was by this time swelled to an enormous amount, he advanced towards the gate, where he was received by the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, the first of whom delivered to him the double compliment of a congratulatory speech and a cup full of gold. There was here a slight dispute betwixt the Mayor and Lord Burleigh, as to which should bear the sword before his Majesty in his progress through the city. To decide the question in a way which should give no offence to either party, James facetiously asked if

they would permit him, in this case, to have the disposal of his own property; and, both answering that they should be happy to abide by his decision, he committed the object in dispute to the Earl of Cumberland, the most distinguished soldier present, (called by Queen Elizabeth *her champion*), who forthwith carried it before him into the city.

It was here that James might be said to have, for the first time, taken upon him the state and office of the King of England; for on his arrival at York, he found the Secretary Cecil, and others of his Privy Council, with whom he proceeded to hold conference on matters relating to government, and who began to form something like a court around him. The gracious reception which Cecil met with gave very general surprise, for the greater part of the nation only remembered the part which this statesman's father had taken in the death of Queen Mary; the correspondence which he had held with the King being of course a profound secret.

The day after his arrival at York being a Sunday, he went to attend public worship in that glorious Minster, which, it is easy to conceive, must have been, with all its garrison of churchmen and attendants, fully as great a wonder to his royal mind as either the fortifications of Berwick or the scenery of Teesdale. As he left his lodging to go to church, he was offered a coach; but he declined it, saying, in a kind manner, that, as the people were desirous to see a king, he was anxious to gratify them, and he should therefore walk, so as to exhibit his person as well as his face. This condescension gave very general satisfaction. He returned in the same manner. This day, after

dinner, he conferred a great number of knighthoods, in the garden connected with the house in which he lived, which was the palace of Lord Burleigh. The only unhappy incident of the day was the apprehension of a Catholic seminary priest, who, under the disguise of a lay gentleman, had delivered to his Majesty a petition in favour of the Catholics. This criminal, for such he was held by the prejudices and the laws of that time, was committed to jail. James here, as at Newcastle, opened all the jails, except to traitors, murderers, and Papists; an association of names which the historians of the day present without the least comment, however much it may surprise and shock the ears of the present generation.

James was entertained at York in a style of liberality and magnificence worthy of that ancient city, once the capital of England. Lord Burleigh kept open house for all comers, during the time he continued in the palace, which was for two complete days; and, on Monday, the Mayor entertained him at a sumptuous feast, which excited the wonder of all his Scottish attendants. Perhaps it was here that James made a droll remark, which has been recorded by tradition in Scotland. Some English courtier was so ill-bred as to observe, that very few mayors in Scotland could have given entertainment to so many persons as were here assembled; to which the King instantly replied, "Fy, man, there's a provost in Scotland that keeps an open house a' the year round, and ay the mae [*the more*] that come the welcomer." He alluded to the chief magistrate of a certain Scotch burgh, (supposed to be Forfar, the capital of Angus,) who kept an alehouse.

After this grand civic entertainment, his Majesty left York, and rode to Grimstone, the seat of Sir Edward Stanhope, where he lodged for the night. Next day, Tuesday, April 19, after dining with Sir Edward, who was High Sheriff of the county, he rode towards Doncaster, stepping aside by the way to see Pontefract Castle. At Doncaster, he lodged in an inn which bore the sign of the Sun and Bear, the host of which he repaid next day for his entertainment, by 'the lease of a manor-house in reversion, of good value.'

On the 20th, being Wednesday, he progressed towards Worksop, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, where he intended to lodge for the night. At Bautry, where he crossed the limit of Yorkshire, and entered the county of Nottingham, he was left by the Sheriff of the former district, and met by the Sheriff of the latter, who was 'most gallantly appointed both with horse and man.' A little farther on, within a mile of Blyth Hall, he alighted from his horse, and, sitting down upon a bank by the way-side, partook of a slight refreshment. As he approached Worksop, he was saluted from the park by a vision of huntsmen, the chief of whom pronounced a congratulatory speech, and offered to show him some game; a pleasant and well-devised conceit on the part of the Earl of Shrewsbury, than which scarcely any thing could have been more agreeable to his royal guest. The King at once consenting to the terms of the speech, a hunt was commenced in the park, wherewith his Majesty, says the narrator of the progress, was 'very much delighted.' His entertainment at Worksop was of a kind and extent still more

astonishing than what he had experienced at any other place: 'besides the abundance of all provision and delicacie, there was here a most excellent soule-ravishing musique, wherewith his Highnesse was not a little delighted.' He quitted the Earl's hospitable mansion next morning after breakfast, the relics of the viands, which were in themselves immense, being 'left open for any man that would, to come and take.' At Worksop, before his departure, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon nineteen individuals.

This day, Thursday the 21st of April, he advanced to the town of Newark-upon-Trent, where, taking up his quarters in the castle, which was the property of the crown, he might be said, for the first time since his entry into England, to have lodged in a house of his own, or at his own expense. The Corporation of Newark met the King as he entered the town, and, by the mouth of the Alderman, their chief magistrate, expressed their affection towards him, presenting him, at the same time, with 'a faire gilt cup.' The speech was in Latin, and it was expressed in a way so agreeable to the royal taste, that, when he was about to quit the town next day, he desired to hear it repeated. On this request being complied with, he asked the good alderman what was his name. Being told that it was Twentyman, he said, 'somewhat sharply, Then, by my saule, man, thou art a traitor: the Twentymans pulled down Redkirk in Scotland!' He was, upon the whole, so well pleased with this orator, that he conferred upon him the office of purveyor of wax for the King's household, in the counties of Nottingham, York, Lincoln, and Derby; and ever after had him in at-

tendance when he came to hunt in Sherwood forest.

During his brief residence at this town, there occurred an incident which has given occasion to much unfavourable remark among his historians. A cut-purse, who confessed that he had followed the court, in the exercise of his profession, all the way from Berwick, and whose activity was evident from the great quantity of gold found upon his person, being here taken *in the very fact*, James, without waiting for trial, directed a precept to the Recorder of Newark, for the immediate execution of the criminal. Whether this was done in consideration of a right which he might have to inflict summary punishment for an offence committed within the precincts of the court, or with a reference to the custom of Scotland, which allowed of punishment without trial, in cases where the crime was palpable and evident to the public eye,—*red-hand*, as it was called,—cannot now be ascertained. But it is plain that James gave the order quite as a matter of course, and entirely without any idea of taking undue advantage of his kingly prerogative. This act, however, was commented upon, at the time, as too violent to be acceptable to the people of England. Sir John Harrington, who was at this very time paying court to the King, says of it, 'I hear our new King hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done: now, if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he has offended.' Later writers have animadverted on the fact with much greater severity, and almost made it appear that this wretched pickpocket was the proto-martyr of the tyranny of the Stuarts. We

cannot help thinking, however, that, at the very worst, it was a mere piece of inadvertency, or a mistake arising from the King's education in Scotland, where it is evident, from the criminal records, that he was in the habit of inflicting or withholding punishment at his own discretion; the difficulty of executing the precepts of justice in that country perhaps leaving more power in his hands than could be allowed under the stronger and better regulated government of England.

He left Newark on Friday the 23d of April, and advanced to Belvoir Castle, the splendid seat of the Earl of Rutland, 'hunting all the way.' His entertainment at this house was of the most sumptuous kind, and yielded him 'exceeding pleasure.' Next morning, after breakfast, and after he had dubbed a score or two of knights, he set forward to Burleigh, dining by the way at the seat of Sir John Harrington. 'His Majestie, on the way, was attended by many lords and knights, and before his coming there was provided train scents, and live haires in baskets, being carried to the heath, that made excellent sport for his Majestie; all the way betwixt Sir John Harrington's and Stamford, Sir John's hounds, with good mouths following the game, the King taking great leisure and pleasure in the same. Upon this heath, not far from Stamford, there appeared to the number of a hundred high men, that seemed like the Patagones, huge fellowes, twelve or fourteen foote high, that are reported to live on the Mayne of Brazil, neere to the streights of Megallant. The King at the first sight wondered what they were, for that they overlooked horse and man. But, when all came to all, they proved a company of

poore honest suitors, all going on high stilts, preferring a petition against the Lady Hatton. What their request was I know not; but his Majestie referred them till his coming to London, and so past on from these giants of the Fen towards Stamford; within halfe a myle whereof, the bailiffes, and the reste of the chief townsmen of Stamford, presented a gift unto his Majestie, which was graciously accepted; so rid he forward through the towne in great state, having the sword borne before him, the people joyful on all parts to see him.' *

At Burleigh Hall, the seat of Thomas second Lord Burleigh, (brother to Sir Robert Cecil, the King's most confidential minister), 'he and all his traine were received with great magnificence, the house seeming so riche, as if it had beene furnished at the charges of an Emperour. * * * The next day, being Easter-day, there preached before his Highness the Bishop of Lincolne; and the sermone was no sooner done, but all offices in the house were set open, that every man might have free accesse to butteries, pantries and kitchens, to eat and drink in, at their pleasures.'

On Monday, the 26th of April, James rode back to Sir John Harrington's house, probably to enjoy another day's hunting with the knight's good hounds. But his sport, if such he designed, was prevented by his horse falling with him; an accident by which he 'dangerously bruised his arm, to the great amazement and griefe of all them that were about his Majestie at that time. But he, being of an invincible courage, and his blood yet

* Narrative, &c.

hotte, made light of it at the first, and being mounted again, rode to Sir John Harrington's, where he continued that night.'

The true extent of the injury which James received by this accident, was a rupture in one of his clavicles. * Yet, partly from a dread of being taken in hands by his physicians, of whose operations he entertained a sincere horror at all periods of his life, and partly from a wish to cause no interruption to the mirthful humour of his subjects, he concealed that fact, and only acknowledged that he was a little bruised. Being unable, however, to continue his journey on horseback, he left Sir John Harrington's house next morning in a coach; thus returning to Burleigh, 'where he was royally entertained as before, but not with half that joy, the report of his hurt had disturbed all the court so much.'

His next stage, on Wednesday, April 27, was to Hinchinbrooke Priory, the seat of a very remarkable person—Oliver Cromwell, uncle and godfather to the Protector, but who was, in every respect of character, the reverse of his famous namesake. 'In the way, he dined at that worthy and worshipful knight's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, (Althorp), where nothing wanted in a subject's duty to a soveraigne, nor any thing in so potent a soveraigne to grace so loyal a subject. Dinner being most sumptuously furnished, the tables were covered with costly banquets, wherein every thing that was most delicious for taste proved more delicate by the art that made it seem beauteous to the eye, the lady of the house being one of the

* So we are informed by a letter of Sir R. Cecil.

most excellent confectioners in England, though I confess many honourable women very expert.' †

Before he reached Hinchinbrooke, he passed over a common which Sir John Spencer, in consequence of a grant from Queen Elizabeth, had partly appropriated, to the great distress of the people of the neighbourhood, who had been accustomed to derive part of their subsistence from this source. The impropriation of commons by the country gentlemen, was one of the chief causes of popular discontent in this reign; and there can be no doubt, that, although beneficial to the country at large, it was a source of much misery among individuals. A story is told of James—that, being on a hunting excursion in Berkshire, he espied a man in the stocks at the corner of one of these pieces of ground, who saluted him with the extraordinary exclamation, "Hosanna to your Majesty!" This caused the King to ask the proprietor of the common, who rode by his side, what the poor fellow was confined for. He was informed that it was for stealing geese from the common; when the culprit cried out, "I beseech your Majesty, be judge which is the greater thief, I for stealing geese from the common, or his Worship for stealing the common from the geese." James was touched by an appeal thus applicable at once to his humanity and his sense of the ludicrous; and

† 'Dinner and banquet being past, and his Majestie at point to depart, Sir Anthony, considering how his Majestie vouchsafed to honour him with his royal presence, presented his Highnesse with a gallant Barbary horse, and a very rich saddle, with furniture suitable thereunto; which his Majestie most lovingly accepted, and, so taking his princely leave, set forward on the way.'

he said to the gentleman who was complained of, "By my saul, I'se not dine to-day on your dishes, till you restore the common for the poor to feed their flocks." His host complied with this request, and also gave immediate freedom to the witty remonstrator. * It is not recorded that he paid a similar attention to the petitions which were here presented to him against Sir John Spencer.

Oliver Cromwell, who was to be the King's landlord this evening, was one of the most popular and beloved characters in all Huntingdonshire, one of the genuine old country gentlemen of the past age, who were destined to become so completely extinct in the next. This excellent person had no sooner learned that he was likely to become the host of his sovereign, than he hastened to make preparation for his proper reception, laying in stores of all kinds of meat and drink, and even making considerable additions to the extent of his house. He met the King at the gate of the great court, and conducted him along a walk that led to the principal entrance of the house. After his Majesty had entered, the doors were thrown wide open, so as to admit all who chose to enter, whether their purpose was to have audience of the King, or only to see his person; and each individual was welcomed with the most costly viands and precious wines, even the humblest populace having free access to the cellars. Hospitality exerted in this degree, was here become a much more wonderful thing than it had been on any former part of James's progress; for the multitudes which had hitherto flocked to see him, were nothing to the

* Archy Armstrong's Jestes, London, 1640.

myriads which he attracted in this more populous district. ‘ There was such plenty and variety of meates, such diversitie of wines, and those not riffe-raffe, but even the best of the kind, and the cellars open at any man's pleasure. And if it were so common with wine, there is little question but the buttries for beere and ale were more common ; yet in neither was there difference ; for whoever entered the house, which to no man was denied, tasted what they had a mind to, and after a taste found fulnesse ; no man like a man being denied what he would call for. As this bounty was held back to none within the house, so for such poor people as would presse in, there were open beere-houses erected, wherein there was no want of bread and befe for the comfort of the poorest creatures. Neither was this provision for the little time of his Majesties stay, but it was made ready fourteen days, and after his Highness' departure distributed to as many as had a mind to it.’

The King remained with Cromwell until he had breakfasted on the 29th—that is, one full day and two nights. At his leaving the house, he expressed himself gratified in the highest degree with the entertainment which his host and hostess had purveyed to him ; saying in his broad accent, as he passed through the court, “ Marry, man, thou hast treated me better than any man since I left Edinburgh.” The probability is, he was treated better here, than he ever was before or after ; for it was generally allowed at the time, that Cromwell gave, on this occasion, *the greatest feast that ever had been given to a sovereign by a subject* ; which must be allowed to have been no small praise,

when we consider the splendid entertainments given to Elizabeth. It is pleasing to record that James retained a grateful sense of the good squire's hospitality. He not only honoured him with his personal friendship, but he made him a knight of the Bath before his coronation, and he afterwards gave him several good grants, which, we have no doubt, had a sensible effect on the internal comforts of Hinchinbrooke Priory. *

At Good-Manchester, a small town not far from Huntingdon, James was surprised by a very extraordinary scene; seventy teams of horses, all traced to 'faire new ploughs,' being here brought to him, as a present, by seventy husbandmen, in obedience to some peculiar antique tenure. Good-Manchester, it seems, was a town, 'for several centuries highly celebrated for the goodness of its husbandry;' and some early king had bestowed lands upon its denizens, under the condition that they should meet him and his successors, whenever they approached the town, with seventy of those implements by which they had wrought themselves so good a name as agriculturists. James, amused at the odd nature of the present, inquired into this part of the history of Good-Manchester; after which, learning that he was still nominally the proprietor of their lands, he said he was glad to be landlord of so many good husbandmen in one town; and enjoined them to continue to use

* Good Sir Oliver, who had been the friend of the Stuarts, lived to be despoiled and distressed by their arch-enemy, his celebrated nephew, who paid him a visit during the civil war. The worthy knight survived all the tempests of that period with unshaken loyalty.

their ploughs as well as their ancestors had done before them.

Soon after leaving Good-Manchester, he passed out of Huntingdonshire into Hertfordshire; and there, of course, he was left by the sheriff of the one county, and met by him of the other. There was something unusually fine in the style and retinue of the latter officer, Sir Edward Denny by name. He was 'attended by a goodly company of proper men, being in number seven score, suitably apparelled, their liveries blew coates, with sleeves parted in the middest, buttoned behind in jerkin fashion, and white doublets, and hats and feathers, and all of them mounted on horses with red saddles. Sir Edward, after his humble dutie done, presented his Majesty with a gallant horse, a riche saddle, and furniture correspondent to the same, being of great value, which his Majesty accepted very graciously, and caused him to ride on the same before him. This worthy knight, being of a deliver spirit, and agil body, quickly mounted, managing the gallant beast with neate and ciduing workmanship, being in a rich sute of a yellow dun colour, somewhat neere the coloure of the horse and furniture. And thus, in brave manner, he conducted his Majestie on to Maister Chester's house, where his Majestie lay that night on his own royal charge.'

James being now within twenty miles of London, the crowds which flocked to see him were materially increased. It is generally understood, that he felt seriously aggrieved by the pressure of the multitude around him; and that, on being interrupted by them when he was one day engaged

in a hunt, he expressed a peevish wish that they would forbear from hunting him. This report, however, seems to be in a great measure a mistake, arising from his proclamations to restrain the accumulation of people around him, and his having, at various stages of his progress, dismissed numbers of gentlemen who had come to see him, to their own homes. Both Hume and Robertson, contrasting his conduct in this matter with the popular manners of Elizabeth, represent him as having sunk at the very first in public estimation, by the coldness with which he received the homage of his subjects. It is strange that, in none of the original documents on which the history of this affair can be grounded, is there the least hint given of such a sentiment having been observable in the King. * The only reason he seems to have had for his attempts to lessen the crowds, was the enormous price to which they caused all articles of provisions to rise; an evil bearing hard on the pockets of those who necessarily attended him. In a document which we are about to quote, it will be seen, that, on being stayed by the London mob, he expressed neither impatience nor disgust, but seemed inspired with the very opposite feelings. And perhaps it ought to be allowed, as exculpatory evidence against the charges of the respectable historians just alluded to, that, in his

* Perhaps the mistake is founded on a passage in Wilson's History of Great Britain, referring to his hunting excursions, some time after he had arrived in England. Being then much exposed to needy and impertinent petitioners, who thronged about him in such numbers as even to interrupt his sport, he is said to have sometimes bid the people begone from him with execrations.

first speech to parliament, he acknowledged himself gratified in the very highest degree by the enthusiastic welcome he had every where met with, particularizing the excessive multitude, and the affectionate behaviour of the crowds, in language which was any thing but cold.

It may be worth while here to quote the account which Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland, has given of the King's deportment on his journey; an account not apt to be flattering, since the writer was somewhat disappointed in the object for which he visited his Majesty, that of procuring audience and favour. 'I have had no private conference to purpose with the King. No more hath almost any other English. For the speech his Majesty admitteth with some noblemen, is rather matter of grace than matter of business; with the attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of Scotland, [the Earl of Mar,] but no more than needs must. Your lordship shall find a prince the farthest from vain glory that may be; and *rather like a prince of the ancient form than the latter time.* His speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country; in speech of business, short; in speech of discourse, large. He affecteth popularity by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own: he is thought to be somewhat general in his favours, and his virtue of access [accessibility] is rather because he is much abroad, and in press, than that he giveth easy audience. He hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and occasions, faster perhaps than policy will well bear. I told your lordship once

before, that methought his Majesty rather asked counsel of the time past than the time to come.' *

It was on Tuesday, the 3d of May, that he approached Theobald's, the seat of Secretary Cecil, twelve miles from the capital. To give the reader an idea of the crowds which flocked thither to see him, John Savile, the writer of an account of his entry into London, says that he himself, sitting in a window of the Bell at Edmontone, (unquestionably the same inn alluded to in 'John Gilpin,') reckoned three hundred and nine horsemen, and a hundred and thirty-seven pedestrians, pass along from London, in half an hour; and the landlord declared, that the flow of passengers had continued, at nearly the same degree of copiousness, during all that and the preceding day. 'As his Highness,' continues this writer, 'was espied coming towards Theobald's, for very joy many ran from their carts, leaving their team of horses to their own unreasonable directions. On his approaching nigh unto Theobald's, the concourse of people was so frequent, every one more desiring a sight of him than another, that it was incredible to tell of. * * Then for his Majesties coming up the walk, there came before his Majestie some of the nobilitie, some barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, among whom were the Shieriffs of Essex, and the most of his men, the trumpets sounding next before his Highness, sometimes one, sometimes another; his Majestie not riding conti-

* Letters and Memoirs of Bacon, apud Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, by Lucy Aiken, who adds, 'The extensive application of this concluding remark needs scarcely be pointed out; it well exemplifies the prophetic sagacity of its author.'

nually betwixt the same two, but sometimes one, sometimes another, as seemed best to his Highness, *the whole nobilitie of our land and Scotland round about him*, observing no place of superiority, all bareheaded; all whom, alighting from their horses, at their entrance into the first court, save only his Majestie alone, who rid along still, four noblemen laying their hands upon his steed, two before and two behind; in this manner he came till he was come to the court door, where myself stood, where he alighted from his horse, from which he had not gone ten princely paces, but there was delivered him a petition by a young gentleman; his Majestie returning him this gracious answer, that he should be heard, and have justice. At the entrance into that court stood many noblemen, among whom was Sir Robert Cecil, who, there meeting his Majestie, conducted him into his house, all which was practised with as great applause of people as could be, hertie prayer, and throwing up of hats. His Majestie had not stayed above an hour in his chamber, but, hearing the multitude throng so fast into the uppermost court to see his Highness, as his Grace was informed, he showed himself openly, out of his chamber window, by the space of half an hour together; * after which time, he went into the labyrinth-like garden to walk, where he recreated himself in the Meander's compact of bays, rosemary, and the like, overshadowing his walk, to defend himself from the heat of the sun, till supper time, at which was such plentie of pro-

* This, in itself, tells strongly against the accusations of Hume and Robertson.

vision for all sorts of men in their due place, as strucke me with admiration.'

At Theobald's, James was met by the principal officers of state, and by all the old servants and officers of Queen Elizabeth. Here also he was, for the first time, joined by the royal body-guard, that corps having been hitherto detained in attendance on the body of their late mistress, as it was the custom of England, that the guard of the monarch never transferred its services to the new sovereign, till the former had been buried.

At Theobald's, James made six of his Scotch friends members of the English Privy Council; extending the same honour, at the same time, to three Englishmen who had recommended themselves to his favour, namely, the Lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and brother of that unfortunate Duke of Norfolk who had perished in the cause of Queen Mary; and the Lord Mountjoy, (afterwards Earl of Devonshire), who was not only entitled to the honour from his recent proceedings in Ireland, but also from the secret friendliness of his conduct towards the King, before his accession.

To speak of Sir Robert Cecil's cost to entertain the King, during his four days residence at Theobald's, 'were but to imitate geographers,' says the narrator of the royal progress, 'who set a little round O for a mighty province; words being hardly able to expresse what was done there indeed, considering the multitude that thither resorted besides the traine, none going thence unsatisfied.'

After having put the hospitality of his secretary to this severe proof, James departed, Saturday,

May 7, and advanced towards London. 'For the number of people that went forth of the city of London to see his Majesty that day, doubtless they were contained in a number, but, without all doubt, not to be numbered. I heard many gray heads speak it, that in all the meetings they have seen or heard of, they never heard or saw the tenth man was there to be seen that day, betwixt Enfield and London, every place in this space so clogged with company, that his Highness could not pass without pausing, ofttimes willingly enforced, though more willing to have proceeded, if conveniently he could without great peril to his beloved people. After our return to our houses, a gentleman whom I know to be possessed of sufficient wealth, said he would have been willingly content to change his state, so he might have had actually every reasonable creature was there that day a bee, and a hive to put them in. Another, more reasonable than he, would ask no more living, than for every one a pin, which, according to an arithmetical proportion, by the judgment of two or three martiall people who had seen great companies together, as near as they could guess by their seeming show, would have amounted to a hundred and fifty pounds, receiving but of every one a pin. * * At Stamford Hill, the people were so throng, that a carman let his cart for eight groats to eight persons, whose abode in it was not above a quarter of an hour.' *

It was at the place last mentioned that James received the addresses of his worthy citizens of London. 'The Lord Mayor presented him with

* Savile's Account, apud Nichols' Progresses.

the sword and keys of the city, with whom were the knights and aldermen, in scarlet gowns, and great chains of gold about their necks, with all the chief officers and council of the city; besides five hundred citizens, all very well mounted, clad in velvet coats and chains of gold, with the chief gentlemen of the hundred, who made a gallant show to entertain their sovereign. * * A little way farther on, the multitudes of people in highways, fields, meadows, closes, and on trees, were such that they covered the beauty of the fields; and so greedy were they to behold the countenance of the King, that with much unruliness they injured and hurt one another; some even hazarded the danger of death.'

He thus crossed the fields to the back of the Charter-house, where he was to lodge; the multitude all the way saluting him with vehement shouts and cries, 'so that one could scarce hear another speak, and, though there was no hope to find what was lost, especially by the loser, yet many, in token of joy inwardly conceived in the heart, threw up their hats.' At this moment of peculiar excitement, when the King might be said to enter the capital, although not the city, old men, if we are to believe the loyal Saville, were heard to declare, that 'it was enough for them to have lived to see this sight.' Perhaps it was at this same moment, that a sagacious Scotsman, in attendance upon his Majesty, remarked, 'Hout awa! thae folk 'ill spoil a gude king.' * He remained in the Charter-house three or four days, at the entertainment of Lord Henry Howard, whom, as already

* Wilson's History of Great Britain, p. 3.

mentioned, he had admitted into the Privy Council at Theobald's. He here dubbed a great number of knights, making in all the enormous number of two hundred and thirty-seven since he had left Scotland. *

After having reposed four days in the Charterhouse, to recover from his fatigues—fatigues of the table, we may suspect, as much as of the road —he proceeded to his palace of Whitehall, from whence he took barge for the city. Having shot London bridge, and been saluted by a prodigious peal of ordnance from the Tower, he landed at that celebrated fortress, the lieutenant of which he received very graciously, even to the putting of his royal arm round the officer's neck; an acknowledgment, no doubt, of the assurances of fidelity to his interests, which Payton had transmitted to him before the demise of his predecessor. He made the round of all the curiosities of the Tower, not omitting the lions, which enjoyed his notice on many subsequent occasions. Indeed, the lions were very good courtiers, if we may believe Mr Hubbocke, the tower chaplain, who told the King, on their behalf, "Magnificae et regales bestiae, leones Anglicani, adorant leonem Scotiae, O vere de leone Judæ oriunde!" †

Such is the history of James's journey to England; an incident which, as it is by far the most remarkable in his peaceful life, and one which excites considerable interest in the imagination, we have given at the utmost length which our limits

* The expense of this remarkable journey to himself and his train, appears, from an authenticated statement, to have been 10,752*l*.

† Quarterly Review, XLI. 60.

would permit. It only remains to be remarked, in general, that the whole affair seems to have been equally agreeable to the King and to his people. He was everywhere delighted with the flatteries, the homage, and the expensive entertainments, yielded to him by his subjects: they were, on the other hand, gladdened by the advent of a monarch, whose character was good, whose progeny promised a continued and undisputed succession, and who, being of the male sex, was agreeable to them as a novelty, after the country had been governed for half a century by women. Nothing about the whole affair is so apt to astonish the modern reader, as the state in which he was received and conducted by all descriptions of public officers, especially by the sheriffs, who accompanied him through each successive county, and the extent and splendour of the hospitalities which were placed before him and the multitudes at large, at most of the houses where he lodged by the way. Hospitality is the virtue of a parcel-civilized state; yet is there something interesting to the imagination in those accounts of unlimited entertainments, where old butteries, whose hinges, as the old song says, were 'quite worn off the hooks' with age and use, and kitchens, and beer-houses, and pantries, were equally the scenes of festive enjoyment to the promiscuous populace, as the banquet-hall was to the prince himself and his nobles—the more interesting, perhaps, when we think of the desolation which overwhelmed all that was *merry* in England, in the immediate succeeding age. To a mind of sentiment, these jolly doings suggest but the idea of a broad and noble river passing smoothly and unconsciously on to the turmoil of the cataract.

CHAPTER II.

REMOVAL OF THE KING'S CONSORT AND CHILDREN FROM SCOTLAND—RALEIGH'S PLOT—SULLY'S EMBASSY—HAMPTON-COURT CONFERENCE—FIRST MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

1603—1604.

JAMES had scarcely enjoyed his new government at London above a week, when he was annoyed by a disturbance of a domestic nature, which had just taken place in Scotland. It will be recollected, that he had left his wife and children there, with directions that they should follow him about twenty days after. Part of the arrangement, it appears, was, that the Earl of Mar should return to Scotland in time to prepare his ward, Prince Henry, for the journey, and also, it is probable, to form an escort for the royal party. The Earl not returning at the promised time, and no new directions reaching her Majesty, she resolved to go to Stirling, and request to be put in possession of the prince's person, in order that she might prepare him against the day appointed for her journey, which she was naturally anxious to keep.

Unfortunately, her Majesty had been concerned, in the year 1595, in a conspiracy with Chancellor Maitland, to get possession of the Prince's person, for some purpose touching the peace of the

nation; on which account, James had given the Earl of Mar a strict precept under his hand, upon no account to surrender his charge to any person whatever, without his express order to that effect. There was also, at this very time, a rumour in both countries, that she designed to bring her son under Popish or Spanish influence. For these various reasons, the Countess Dowager of Mar, who kept Stirling Castle in her son's absence, absolutely refused to deliver up the young Prince; so that the Queen, after a long journey for that purpose from Edinburgh to Stirling, was obliged to return without her errand, her mind afflicted at once by the mortification of this insult, and by the reflection, that she would thus be prevented for some time from seeing the land over which she and her husband had been called to preside.

Such was the agitation into which the Queen was thrown by this disagreeable incident, that she miscarried of a child with which she was then pregnant, and consequently endured a very serious illness. In the violence of her resentment against Mar and his mother, the former of whom was certainly blameable for not attending to the appointment, while the latter had perhaps uttered her refusal in no very polite terms, her Majesty wrote a letter to the King, full of angry invectives against those two personages and their servants, and upbraiding him for loving Mar better than herself. James no sooner learned what had taken place, than he despatched the Duke of Lennox with a warrant to the Earl of Mar, who had now come to Scotland, empowering him to deliver up the Prince to her Majesty; but he scrupled, for such a cause, to chide a friend of so long stand-

ing, and such approved fidelity. He wrote a letter to her Majesty, condoling with her on the accident which had befallen her, and its cause, but firmly, though mildly, palliating the misconduct of his old schoolfellow and friend. In common histories, it is generally stated, that, by way of mollifying her, he affirmed the prudence of the Earl of Mar, as having been, next to God's providence, the chief cause of his enjoying his new kingdom, and that Anne, with a true woman's spirit, remarked, that she would rather have never seen her new kingdom, than been indebted for it to that person. But, if the Queen really did utter such a sentiment in the first heat of her resentment, it is certain that she replied to her husband's letter in very different terms. Both the letters have fortunately been preserved; and as they do great honour to the feelings of both parties, and tend to refute the scandalous pasquils which have been received as testimony against James in his capacity of a husband, they are here given entire. We scarcely know any compositions of the kind which surpass them in pathos or warmth of feeling: the latter is given from the original, which is preserved among the papers of Sir James Balfour, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and never was before printed.

KING JAMES TO QUEEN ANNE.

'MY HAIRTE,

'Immediately before the ressaite of your lettir, I was purposed to have written unto you, and that without any great occasion, except for freeing myself at your hands from the imputation of sweareness; but now youre lettir has gevin more maitter

to wryte, although I take small delyte to meddle in so unpleasant a proces. I wonder that nather your long knowledge of my nature, nor my laite earniste purgation unto you, can cure you of that rooted erroure that any living darre speak or informe me in any wayes to your prejudice, or yett that ye can think thaime your unfriendis that are true servantis to me. I can say no more, but proteste, upon the peril of my salvation and damnation, that nather the Erle of Marr, nor any flesh living, ever informed me that ye was upon any Papish or Spanish course, or that ye had any other thouchtes, but a wrong conceived opinion that ye had more interest in your sone, or wold not deliver him unto you; nather does he farther charge the noblemen that was with you thaire, but that he was informed that some of thaime thocht by force to have assisted you in the taking of my sonne out of his handis. But as for any other Papiste or forrine practise, by God he doth not so much as alleadge it; thairefore he says he will never presume to accuse them, since it may happen well to importe your offence: and thairfore I say over againe, leave these froward womanlie apprehensions; for I thank God I carrie that love and respecte unto you, quhich, by the law of God and nature, I ought to do to my wife and mother of my children; but not for that ye are a king's dauchter; for, quhither ye were a king's dauchter or a cook's dauchter, ye must be all alike to me, being once my wyfe. For the respecte of your honourable birthe and descente I married you; but the love and respect I now bear you, is, because that ye are my married wyfe, and so partaker of my honour as of my other fortunes. I beseeache

you excuse my rude plainness in this; for casting up your birth is a needless impertinent argument to use. God is my witness I have ever preferred you to all my bairnes—much more then to any subjects; but if you will ever give place to the reports of everie flattering sicophant that will persuade you that when I account well of an honest and wise servant for his true and faithful service to me, that it is to compare, or prefer him to you, then will nather ye nor I be ever at reste or peace. I have, according to my promise, copied so much of that plotte quhairof I wrote unto you in my laste, as did concerne my sonne and you, quhich herein is inclosed, that ye may see I wrote it not without gude cause, but I desyre it not to have any secretarys than yourselfe. As for your dool made concerning it, it is utterly impertinent at this time, for sic reasons as the bearer will show unto you, quhom I have likewise commandit to impairte dyvers other points unto you, which for fear of wearieing your eyes with my rugged hande I have herein omitted; praying God, my hairte, to preserve you and all the bairnes, and send me a blythe meeting with you and a couple of thaime.

'Your awn,

'JAMES, R.'

QUEEN ANNE TO KING JAMES.

'SIR, Pleas your Majestie, I have ressavit your Majestie's letteris, the first fra Sir George Douglas, and the uther fra my Lord Duke. I thank your Majestie humblie for your four jewillis sent by my Lord Duke and the Comptroller, but mekil

mair for that loveing proof of your kyndnes in my distres, whilk hes perfytlie confirmit the assurance of your favour, whilk your Majestie has ever fra constantlie borne to me. I am infinitlie sorie for your Majesties grief and displeasour tane for my perrel and payne, and mair that I should have done any thing whilk by the report of my unfriendis could have maid your Majestie think that I had done any thing to offend your Majestie (for that haist that hes bred my hairme and your displeasour proceedit upon my earnest desyre to obey your command, and keip the day appointit be your Majestie for my removing with the prince; whais preparationes being lingerit be the delay of the Erle of Mar's hame-coming, without any certain advertisement or assurance of the tyme thairof, whan I persavit sua mekill tyme spent as thair [was] not aneuch to provyde the Prince of his necessaris, I tuke purpous to cum to this place to see him and tak him with me, to mak him reddie agane the day appoynt, whairin being gainstaid, as your Majestie knawis, I have ressavit sic hairme, whilk grievis me not so much as your displeasour, whilk I pray your Majestie promove, and to assure yourself, that before God, nather of myself, nor be any counsel or assistance of any man levand, I movit nor did nothing that I thocht micht have offendit your Majestie; and thairfor I will pray your Majestie nather to give ear nor credit to sic fals reportis, but to persuade yourself that at meiting I sall give your Majestie perfyte contentment be the account of my proceidings, and till than and ever sall indeavour myself to obey your commandments. As to my coming to your Majestie, I sall neid na remembrancis; my greatest honour, joy, and contentment, is sus-

pendit be the delay of your presence, whilk I pray God to grant speidelie and joyfullie. My health permits me not to prefix ane certane day; but my affections sall prevent my strength in the haist of that desyrit journey to see your Majestie, whom I heartilie desyr a long, prosperous, and happy

'Your awin,

'ANNA, R.

'My hairt, for Goddis saik tak na caire nor anger, for it will reneu me payne and displesour.' *

After Prince Henry had been delivered up to her, the Queen left Scotland, with the whole of her family, and proceeded to London. Her journey was private and unostentatious, compared with that of the King; and, as she was unable, from her late illness, to travel very fast, she spent the whole month of June upon the way. The King received her and the children at Windsor Castle, with much ceremony, and great public rejoicings. On the 2nd of July, a few days after her arrival, Prince Henry was installed, as a Knight of the Garter; on which occasion, though as yet only nine years of age, he excited the admiration of the bystanders by his 'quick witty answers, princely carriage, and reverent obeisance at the altar; all which appeared very strange,' says the chronicler Howes, 'considering his tender age, and his being, till then, altogether unacquainted with the matter and circumstances of that solemnity.' This youthful prince, who cannot be said to have ever been a boy, was im-

* This in her Majesty's own hand.

mediately afterwards (July 20,) placed in a separate household of his own, with a retinue of seventy servants, 'twenty-two to be above stairs, and forty-eight below;' which number, enormous as it may appear, was doubled before the end of the year 1603, the style of living at that time involving this among many other absurd modes of waste. Charles, the younger brother of the Prince, and who was now styled Duke of York, was placed under the charge of Sir Robert Carey and his wife, being as yet too young, and too weakly a child, to be thought entitled to a separate household. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, that this prince, who was destined in after life to go through so many scenes of personal trouble and adventure, was at this period of his life so weak in the limbs as to be unable to walk. Carey also tells us, that he seemed so unlikely to live long, that the courtiers, who would otherwise have been but too glad to take him into keeping, all hedged off, to escape a duty which might have involved so much risk, or at least obloquy; and he himself, though by no means a scrupulous adventurer, had some qualms in undertaking the office. James, as already mentioned, never could himself walk well till he was six years of age, owing to the tainted milk he imbibed in his first year from a drunken nurse, wished to have the limbs of this unfortunate child confined in a pair of iron boots, which should at least keep them straight, though adding nothing to their powers of locomotion; but he was dissuaded from attempting so cruel an experiment. In the course of a few years, Charles attained to have a better command over his limbs than his father ever had over his, and that without having undergone any peculiar treatment

for the purpose. * As for the Princess Elizabeth, the only female child of the royal family, she was placed under the tutelage of the Lady Harrington, wife of the memorable and facetious knight, Sir John Harrington; who, in the little interval betwixt the death of Elizabeth and James's departure from Edinburgh, had bespoken his Majesty's favour by a present of a splendid toy in the shape of a dark lantern, emblematic of the demise of the late Queen; one side of which, it may be mentioned as a curious fact, contained a fac-simile of a drawing of the passion of Christ, which James's ancestor King David the First was said to have drawn on the walls of an apartment in Nottingham jail, when confined there after the unfortunate battle of the Standard.

It is a very prevailing impression, the result of imperfectly reported history, that the people of England were forcibly struck by the contrast betwixt Elizabeth and James, and, immediately after his accession, began to display symptoms of violent discontent. Nothing can be farther from the truth than this; or, at least, nothing can be more inconsistent with the testimony of private letters, and contemporary publications. If we can place reliance on these documents, and really there are no others to be resorted to for information, the people, high and low, displayed a forgetfulness of the merits of Elizabeth, which was only to be matched in degree by their adulation of her successor. According to a curious, and apparently very faithful writer of that day, the talk of the

* It is a curious fact, that Queen Anne was also carried in arms till her ninth year, from inability to walk.

people at her Majesty's funeral was the most indifferent imaginable. 'Many seemed to marvel at vain and ordinary things; as, namely, that, living and dying a virgin, she was born on the vigil of that feast which was yearly kept in remembrance of the birth of Our Lady the Virgin, and that she died on the vigil of the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady; that she departed the world at Richmond, where her grandfather King Henry the Seventh, whom she very much resembled, ended his life, and upon the self-same day of the week (!!) whereon he deceased; that she had reigned so many years, that the greater part then living had never known other prince: some also there were that spake fondly of predictions going before her death, and among others it was given out, that an old lion in the Tower, bearing her name, during the time of her sickness, pined away and died.' Even among the better informed of the lower classes, according to this writer, the remarks were by no means very favourable to her Majesty. But it was among the upper ranks that forgetfulness of Elizabeth's virtues was most conspicuous: their general behaviour during her last illness, and after her death, was either indicative of the little love in which she was held, or of their monstrous ingratitude. On the other hand, James was every where hailed by acclaiming multitudes, who seemed as if they could not find the slightest objection in their own minds to his title, but were disposed to throw themselves entirely under his feet, as rejoicing to be the slaves of such a master. The leading men of the nation paid their court to him with expressions of the warmest regard for his person. The middle ranks expressed them-

selves well pleased with his general deportment towards them, and the gracious answers he gave to their petitions. There is something, even in the enthusiasm with which the common people threw up their hats, all conscious and certain that they should never regain them, highly probative of the estimation in which his character was held. Nor was there the slightest circumstance in his conduct, after he reached London, to damp the fervour of this spirit. He has been accused of partiality for his own countrymen. But that is a mere dream of history. He was quite impartial in the distribution of his favours, so far as the nations were concerned. His having placed his children in the hands of Englishmen, is enough in itself to exculpate him from this groundless charge. But the truth is, with the exception of his making a few of his old Scottish friends members of the Privy Council, which was the very least thing he could do in reward of their services, and perhaps a necessary measure as a sort of representation of Scotland in that body, he had scarcely conferred any favours whatever on his countrymen; nor were there, indeed, many now around him, either to ask or receive extraordinary favours.

These remarks are made with a view to introduce a brief notice of what is called 'Raleigh's Plot,' a conspiracy which was detected early in July, before James had been much more than six weeks in London. That an enterprise of this kind should have been undertaken so soon after his accession, appears a circumstance so strongly indicative of national discontent, that it seemed to the writer necessary to say something to the opposite effect, as well as to remark, in anticipation, that

a more miserable effort of the insane few against the wishes of the rational many, was never devised.

This plot was scarcely so much a single and entire plot, as it was a composition of various incongruous particles of plots; the objects of the different persons concerned being of the most discordant, as well as indefinite nature, insomuch that one who endeavoured to unriddle their schemes, finished by declaring them to have had no common ground but discontent. In the first place, there were two Catholic priests, Watson and Clark, and a Catholic gentleman named Sir Griffin Markham, who proposed to present a petition to the King in favour of their religion, backed by such a multitude of their distressed brethren as would force a compliance. Then there was Lord Grey de Wilton, a young man of a fiery and generous nature, although a Puritan, who entertained much the same design in favour of his sect, but whose chief cause of discontent was the coolness with which he had been treated since the accession, on account of his having been one of the chief enemies of Essex. Next, there were some base and utterly unprincipled wretches, whose only design was to advance their personal fortunes by the designed revolution. Lastly, there was a plot almost entirely distinct from these, headed by Lord Cobham, a worthless and foolish young nobleman, and Sir Walter Raleigh; whose object was to dethrone the King, and set up his cousin Arabella Stuart; which they chiefly proposed to do by the assistance of the Archduke of Austria and the King of Spain. It does not appear that much communion ever took place among all these various individuals, before

their schemes were detected: their treasons, as Sir Edward Coke remarked on their trial, were 'like Sampson's foxes, which were joined in their tails, though their heads were severed.' Perhaps they were only beginning to coalesce when the detection took place.

The last of these fractional plots was properly the project of the second person named; for Cobham, one of those persons who are described as 'the tools which knaves do work with,' was merely the passive instrument or catspaw of Raleigh. This latter person, whose name, by a strange perversity of moral feeling, is one of the most endeared in English history, had been the friend of Cecil, and his coadjutor in procuring the destruction of Essex: after that, he was thrown off and neglected by Cecil; on James's accession, finding himself not treated with that distinction to which he had been accustomed under Elizabeth, and which had become necessary to him, he grew discontented. To increase his chagrin, the King thought it necessary to displace him from his situation as captain of the guard, to make way for a Scotch friend,* on whose fidelity he could rely; and Raleigh, although compensated for this by a pension, and although his good sense must have allowed the propriety of the King's conduct, as but a natural precaution for self-defence—as indeed a mere matter of course—retired in mortal disgust to fabricate this insane scheme of revenge. That a man of so much talent and experience should have done any thing so foolish, may well

* Sir Thomas Erskine, who had proved his fidelity by his behaviour at the Gowry conspiracy.

appear strange. But who can predicate, from talent and experience, the conduct which any man will pursue when abandoned to the guidance of passion, especially when, as in the present case, there is a stinging consciousness of having been urged by unworthy motives, in applications which have met with deserved unsuccess?

On being taken into custody, Cobham, in a fit of passion, occasioned by hearing that Raleigh attempted to sacrifice him in his examination, uttered a full confession of his designs, in which he inculpated his accomplice, or principal. Raleigh, despairing of escape, attempted to kill himself; but, afterwards conceiving better hopes, threw a letter into Cobham's window in the Tower, (pinned to an apple), disavowing what had caused the unfortunate nobleman to impeach him, and imploring him to retract his confessions, as there was no evidence to prove either guilty. Cobham obeyed this injunction, as far as he was able; but, the correspondence being detected, he was held to his original confession. At his trial, which took place in November, and was conducted at Winchester on account of the plague then raging in London, he adopted the only expedient which seemed to promise him a chance of life, that of making a confession of his guilt, and inculpating Sir Walter Raleigh. Upon that simple confession alone, and without any proof by witnesses, Sir Walter was himself tried and found guilty; a proceeding which would now be thought contrary to law, but which was declared to be perfectly consistent with it by the judges who sat on this trial. At the same time, Lord Grey de Wilton, and the Catholic conspirators, were tried and condemned, it having been

proved that they contemplated a surprise of the palace, and the seizure of the King's person.

Four of the inferior persons thus found guilty of treason were executed in the barbarous style customary in England in such cases. But Cobham, Grey, and Markham, the three of highest rank, were pardoned after their heads had been placed on the block. Sir Walter Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, where he was confined for the next twelve years; and Grey and Cobham, besides being condemned to share his imprisonment, were attainted and deprived of their estates. The last, after surviving an imprisonment of many years, lived to be refused the crumbs which fell from his wife's table, to derive a wretched subsistence from one who had once been his servant, and to die in a garret which he had to ascend by a ladder; a monument of the execration in which mankind hold that pusillanimity which will betray a friend for the sake of personal salvation, and of the degradation from which antiquity of blood and title, alliance with the mighty of the land, and the reverence generally given to greatness in distress, are all unable to save him who has first degraded himself.

One of the King's first duties in his new capacity, was to receive and entertain the Marquis de Rosni, afterwards Duke of Sully, whom Henry the Fourth sent to him in June, to attempt the formation of a league betwixt France and England (formerly agitated with Elizabeth), against the power of the house of Austria. The account which this eminent person has given, in his well-known Memoirs, of his reception at the English court, is interesting and instructive, although spoilt

in some measure by prejudices of country and character. 'James,' says he, 'was by no means so well inclined to Henry IV. as Elizabeth had been: he had been told that the King of France called him, in derision, *Captain of Arts, and Clerk of Arms.* * * * Let me add, to make him more particularly known, that he was upright and conscientious, that he had eloquence and even erudition; but less of these than of penetration, and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourse on affairs of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect; for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it; was indolent in all his actions except hunting, and remiss in affairs; all indications of a soft and timid nature, formed to be governed.'

One of the orders which Rosni had given, preparatory to the ceremony of his audience, was, that his whole suite should be put into mourning; which seemed to be essentially necessary, as the ostensible object of his embassy was to compliment James on the death of Elizabeth. 'I had learned, however,' says he, 'at Calais, that no one, either ambassador, stranger, or even Englishman, had presented himself before the new King in black; and Beaumont † had afterwards represented to me, that my intention would certainly be beheld with an evil eye, in a court where there was an affectation of consigning this great queen to oblivion, no mention being now made of her, and men even avoiding to pronounce her name.

† The French ambassador in ordinary.

This being the case, I should have been very glad to disguise from myself the necessity for my appearing in a dress which seemed to carry with it a reproach to the King and to all England: but my orders on this head were positive, and also highly proper; on which account I disregarded the entreaty of Beaumont, that I would defer putting myself to this expense till he had written to Sir William Erskine, and some others who best understood the ceremonial of the court; nevertheless, he wrote. He had no answer on Thursday, Friday, or during the whole day on Saturday; and I persisted in my resolution, in spite of the arguments which he continued to urge against it. On Saturday night, the very eve of the day of audience, and so late that I was going to bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent him word, that all the courtiers regarded my action as a designed affront to them; and that the King would take it so ill on my part, that nothing more would be necessary to render my negociation abortive from the very beginning. This information agreeing with that of Lord Sidney, of La Fontaine, and of the deputies of the States, it was impossible for me to doubt it. For fear of a greater evil, therefore, I caused my household to change their dresses, and provide themselves with others where they could.'

All this is intended to be very severe upon James; and much has been said by the more invidious of his historians in comment upon it. But, really, when we consider the circumstances under which James stood in relation to his predecessor —her slaughter of his mother, her unrelenting tyranny over himself, her refusal to acknowledge his

title to the very last, and, above all, his final procurement of her throne by the naked virtue of his hereditary title, and the estimation in which he was held by her people, we cannot see any great crime in his forbearing to put himself into mourning for her. It is evident that this is all he can be really charged with; for there is nothing here to prove that he formally forbade court mourning, nor can the silence maintained among his courtiers regarding the late queen, be attributed to any thing else than their anxiety to consult his wishes. But there is evidence to prove that he was neither unconscious of Elizabeth's merits, nor unwilling to allow them. In his first speech to parliament after his coming to the throne, he speaks of her as 'their late sovereign of famous memory, who died full of years, but fuller of immortal trophies of honour;' and in one of his pamphlets, published two or three years subsequent to this period, he styles her 'that blessed defunct LADIE,' a phrase which we cannot well suppose him capable of using, in reference to a person whom he either hated or despised. *

Rosni afterwards gives us an account of the way in which the King entertained him and Beaumont at dinner. 'James,' says he, 'caused only Beaumont and myself to sit down at his table, where I was not a little surprised to observe that he was always served on the knee. The middle of the table was occupied by a *surtout*, in the form of a pyramid, covered with the most precious pieces of plate, and even enriched with jewels.'

Here we have another circumstance, which

* See his Works, p. 253.

has given occasion to some severe remarks on James. By some writers, who apparently have read nothing else on the subject than the above paragraph, he is shown up as maintaining an almost Oriental system of reverence towards his person among his servants. But this is purely a theory raised upon one simple fact, in consequence of the prevailing impression regarding James's notions of the royal dignity. The truth is, James was much less scrupulous about etiquette of this kind than the preceding sovereign, with whom he is, in general, so unfavourably contrasted. He discontinued the practice of kneeling, so far as his superior courtiers were concerned, which his predecessor had all her life rigorously kept up, and which, if we are not mistaken, she had established. At the very worst, the genuflexion of his attendants in serving him, though surprising to a Frenchman, was nothing more than the custom of the English court.

'The conversation during a great part of the repast,' continues Rosni, 'was on the same subjects as it had been before, (on the weather and on hunting,) till an occasion presenting itself to speak of the late Queen of England, the King did so, and to my great regret, with a kind of contempt.' [This was only conversation, and should go for little or nothing.] He went so far as to say that, for a long time before the death of this princess, he from Scotland had guided all her counsels, and had all her ministers at his disposal; by whom he was better served and obeyed than herself. [Nothing is more likely.] 'He then called for wine, which it is never his practice to mingle with water; and, holding his glass towards

Beaumont and myself, he drank to the health of the king, queen, and royal family of France. I pledged him in return, not forgetting his children. He drew towards my ear when he heard them named, and whispered me, that the next glass which he drank should be to the double union which he meditated betwixt the two royal houses. This was the first word he had said to me on the subject, and it did not appear to me that the time which he had taken to mention it was well chosen.' [Had the ambassador been aware how general was the custom in England, as it continues to be to this day, to transact important business at dinner, he would not have been surprised at this.] 'I did not fail, however, to receive the proposal with all possible signs of joy; and I replied, also in a whisper, that I was sure Henry would not hesitate when a choice was to be made between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had already applied to him on the same subject. James, surprised at what I told him, informed me, in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offer of the Infanta for his son, as the King of France for the Dauphine.'

Upon the whole, although startled a little at first by the homely appearance and manners of the King of Great Britain, this illustrious statesman allows a good deal of praise to his general demeanour. He 'speaks of him, in one instance, as expressing himself "avec la derniere politesse." James had been talking of his favourite sylvan sports, and of the French king's passion for such amusements: then, turning the discourse upon Sully, he added, says the ambassador—"que Henri avoit raison de ne pas me mener à la chasse, par-

ceque si j'étois chasseur, le Roi de France ne pourroit pas l'être—Henry was right not to let me addict myself to the chase, for, if I were a hunter, he himself could not be so."' *

Rosni was not successful in the whole object which he came to negotiate. He soon found James to be of too pacific a temper to join his master in the extensive scheme of opposition which he had projected with Elizabeth against the King of Spain and the Archduke of Austria. So far indeed, was the pacific monarch from entertaining any views of this kind, that he had already resolved upon concluding the war which Elizabeth had so long carried on against Spain. Rosni was obliged to content himself with procuring James's name to a treaty for the protection of the United Provinces from the tyranny of that power.

Considerable gloom was cast upon the commencement of James's reign in England, by a pestilence which happened to break out just about the time when he reached London. Notwithstanding this calamity, which caused the death of thousands weekly, the ceremony of his coronation took place at Westminster, on the 25th of July.† Perhaps, he was induced to hasten this transaction by its appearing, from the examinations of the individuals charged with the conspiracy, that they had supposed themselves incapable of the crime of treason so long as he was uncrowned, and while as yet the oath between him and his people had not been passed.

* Quarterly Review, XLI. 57.

† Being St James's day, and one of course supposed to be propitious.

It will not appear wonderful, when the superstitious character of the age is considered, that one of the chief things noted by the public on this exciting occasion, was the fulfilment which seemed now to be given to the ancient national prophecy regarding what was called 'the Fatal Stone of Scoon.' This celebrated piece of marble, whereon, as Langtoft the Chronicler says with most amusing *naïveté*,

'Of yore the Scottyche kynges wer breechles sette,'

which had served for the coronation of the kings of Scotland, from time immemorial, till it was carried away to Westminster by Edward I., and to which was attached the well known monkish legend, declaring, that a Scottish race should inherit the land wherever it was placed, was now observed by the people, with feelings which would at the present day appear ridiculous, to be at length replaced under the sacred sitting part of a Caledonian prince, who, in the fulness of time, had been sent to prove, as that legend promised, that destiny was infallible.

The King, before, at, and after his coronation, displayed a surprising profusion in the distribution of honours to his courtiers. Cecil he created Baron Essingdon, and granted and elevated a great number of other peerages. To such a height was this carried, that a pasquil was put up in Paul's Walk, announcing an art very necessary to assist weak memories, in remembering the names of the new nobility. He was much more liberal still in the article of knighthoods, of which it is credibly affirmed that he conferred a thousand during the first year of his reign. His conduct in this matter has been unfavourably contrasted with that of Eli-

zabeth, who was amazingly penurious of honours, and never gave them without exceedingly good reason. It is said that he materially cheapened titles of all kinds. But yet there is perhaps some truth in what Baker tells us in his Chronicle, that Elizabeth was absurdly fastidious on this score, insomuch that towards the end of her reign there was sometimes a difficulty experienced in making up a sufficient number of knights for juries. To be sure, the authority of the venerable chronicler is apt to be a little prejudiced, seeing that he himself, as he is forced to tell, was one of twenty persons, who received the stroke of honour from the King at Theobald's. But, be this as it may, a peer of England, after James's reign, was a very different thing from what he had been before. Of sixty personages of this class, who existed at the demise of Elizabeth, almost all were of ancient family and title, and possessed of immense estates and territorial influence. One of them, the Earl of Hertford, left five thousand pounds a year as a jointure to his widow; the same sum which King James enjoyed as a pension from Elizabeth, and which was probably the better part of his income. In the succeeding age, when they were found to be just about doubled in number, they were also found to be reduced one half in wealth and dignity; and the poverty of the peers is generally supposed to have been the reason why so many of them engaged in the civil war.

By far the most memorable transaction in which James was engaged during the first year of his reign, was the conference which he appointed at Hampton-Court, January 1604, between the leading divines of the church and those who were

styled Puritans; a meeting over which he presided in person, and in the business of which he took an active share. It will be recollected, that the third gentleman who came to him from England after the death of Elizabeth, was one who wished to bespeak his favour for the Puritans. All the way as he passed through England, he was met by applications of the same kind, one in the shape of a petition, praying a new reformation of the church of England, which, from its being set forth as containing the signatures of a thousand clergy, though in reality there were only seven hundred and fifty, was named the Millenary Petition; under which name it is yet known in history. The objects of these petitions appear to a person, who is neither a member of the church of England nor a puritan, so unimportant, that he finds a difficulty in crediting the earnestness with which they were advanced, or the fact, that upon such trifles were grounded the discontents which ended in the civil war. The outcry of these men was chiefly against the use of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the surplice in worship; against bowing at the name of Jesus, and the use of the terms *priest* and *absolution* in the liturgy; against subscription of some of the thirty-nine articles, the frequency of marriage licenses, and the custom of baptizing children at home without a clergyman, in cases where the life of the child was imminently threatened. But, in truth, it was never from the native importance of these things that the grand dispute between the church of England and its dissenters arose; it was from the obstinacy with which the adherents and the recusants maintained the controversy in its first stages, the pride of the former

engaging them to continue an abuse which they had at one time sanctioned, and the pride of the latter as strongly disposing them to hold out against an error which they had condemned.

Although James professed that his object in calling the Hampton-Court conference was, that he might give a fair hearing to both parties, it seems certain that he had beforehand resolved against any material compliance with the wishes of the Puritans. At the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh in the preceding November, Sir Edward Coke said, that his Majesty had spoken these words in the hearing of many, 'I will lose the crown and my life, before ever I will alter religion.' He had also expressed it as his opinion, that it was more from obstinacy than tenderness of conscience that the Puritans scrupled to yield their obedience to the church. Nothing is more likely than this; for he often traversed his own deepest schemes of policy, by expressions which he unguardedly dropped in familiar conversation; being, like all other men who speak much, and for effect, liable to blurt out things which he desired to conceal.

There was something highly characteristic of James, and something, we have no doubt, greatly to his mind, in the whole of this affair. Theology was one of the subjects on which he was most learned and most fluent; and, therefore, one on which he was most anxious to converse. Indeed, it is probable that there was no other cogent cause for the conference than his own impulses towards this logical disputation, and his love of display; for there can be little doubt, that a condescension to argue with dissentients could promise no good to the church. Among sects, the practice of agi-

tating questions of doctrine, and of perpetually referring to their causes of separation, are of essential service, because they tend to keep a sort of *esprit de corps* awake in the minds of all concerned; but it is obviously the interest of the church to take the good it gets, and never appear to understand that its doctrines, or its right to get that good, have been called in question.

The conference commenced on the 16th of January, after James had spent a whole day with his own divines in preparing weapons for the contest. Surrounded by nine bishops, and as many clergymen of inferior rank, all of whom were dressed in full canonicals, he sat himself upon a chair of state, with Prince Henry on a low seat by his side: the puritan clergymen, whom he had selected for opponents, were only four in number, Knewstubbs, Sparks, Reynolds, and Chadderton, the first being professor of divinity at Oxford, and all of them members of the church of England, although more or less impugning its doctrines. Upon what principle this inequality of forces proceeded does not appear, unless it can be supposed, that, as in cases where animals of different kinds are set to combat, the King esteemed four Puritans a sufficient match for more than four times the number of High-churchmen.

A battle of trifles then commenced, in which James took an active share, sometimes displaying profound learning and acute intellect, at other times indulging in witticisms, which had certainly been better spared on such an occasion. The bishops professed themselves highly pleased with their royal auxiliary, whose eloquence was such at one particular stage of the business, that Archbi-

shop Whitgift, in a sort of rapture, declared that he certainly spoke from the divine spirit. Sir John Harrington says, in his sarcastic way, 'the spirit was rather foul-mouthed.'—'He rather used upbraiding than arguments,' continues this writer; 'told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again; and bid them away with their snivilling.' Yet Egerton, the chancellor, declared he never knew the meaning of the phrase—'*Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote*,' till he heard James giving his opinions in this oral controversy. Whatever was his demeanour, there seems little reason to doubt, that he and the divines proved nearly all the objections of the Puritans to be groundless, and the whole to be trifling, so far as it is possible to prove any thing in polemical divinity.

A specimen of his witticisms may perhaps be amusing. When Reynolds objected to the churching of women under the Jewish name of purification, James, conceiving him to be hostile to the service itself, said, that, as women were usually loath to come to church, any occasion was commendable which might draw them thither. From which, the curious fact is to be inferred, that, in James's reign, women were less addicted to churchgoing than men. He presently balanced this sarcasm against the sex, by a compliment which he found occasion to pay them, when a cavil was started against that most innocent phrase in the marriage-service, 'With my body I thee worship.' —"It is a manner of speech," said he, "as when we say a worshipful gentleman; and as for you, Dr Reynolds, allow me to hint, that many speak of Robin Hood before they have shot with his bow: if you had a good wife yourself, you would

think all worship and honour well bestowed on her."

The objecting ministers having expressed a wish for the revival of what were called *prophecyings*—irregular meetings for the purpose of exciting religious fervour by prayer and preaching, which Elizabeth had put down—James burst out into a fit of anger. "What!" said he, "do you aim at a Scottish presbytery? That agrees as well with monarchy, as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council. No, no. Stay for seven years before you make this demand; and then, if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken to you, for that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough."

After this, professing to see his supremacy aimed at in the whole of these apparently trivial complaints, he said he would tell them a tale. "When Queen Mary," said he, "overthrew the Reformation in England, we in Scotland felt the effects of it. For thereupon Mr Knox writes to the Queen Regent, a virtuous and moderate lady, telling her she was the supreme head of the church, and charged her, as she would answer it at God's tribunal, to take care of Christ his evangil in suppressing the Popish prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even till, by her authority, the Popish bishops were repressed, and Knox with his adherents brought in and made strong enough. Then they began to make small account of her supremacy, when, according to that *mere* moon-light wherewith they were illuminated, they made a further

reformation of themselves. How they used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it. My Lords the bishops (this he said putting his hand to his hat), I may thank you that these men plead thus for my supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you but by appealing unto it; but if once you were out, and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy, for *No bishop, no king*. I have learned of what cut they have been, who, preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over with silence my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, Doctor, have you any thing more to say?"—*Dr Reynolds*. "No more, if it please your Majesty."—"Then," resumed the King, "if this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else *herry* * them out of the land, or do worse."

Having thus gained or assumed the victory, James pronounced it as his firm intention to force a uniformity in church-government and worship by his Court of High Commission, and to inflict punishment on all recusants. The result of so violent a step was not so bad as might have been expected. 'Henceforth,' says Fuller, in his Church History, 'many cripples in conformity were cured of their former halting therein, and such as knew not their own minds till they knew the King's in this matter, for the future quietly digested the ceremonies of the church.' †

* *Herry*, dispossess; a word applied in Scotland to the despoliation of birds' nests.

† It deserves to be mentioned, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures at present in use was suggested at this

On the 19th of March 1604, nearly a year after the commencement of his reign, James, for the first time, met the two Houses of the English Parliament; the meeting having been postponed a considerable time on account of the plague, which was now only leaving a city where it had destroyed thirty out of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. On this occasion, to him one of the most interesting in his whole life, he delivered a speech of considerable length, embracing almost all the feelings and ideas which might be supposed to arise to him in his new situation; a harangue which, although certainly not dignified enough in every passage for a King addressing his subjects, is said to have made a favourable impression on the nation, being full of sagacious observation and benevolent sentiment.

'Shall it ever be blotted out of my mind,' says he in this composition, 'how, at my first entry into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me—their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection—their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy—their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, discovering in their gestures a passionate longing, and earnestness, to meet and embrace their new sovereign!'

He congratulates the nation on the peace which he had now nearly secured for them, avowing, as his sincere opinion, that the non-engagement of a

conference by Dr Reynolds. James had, in Scotland, expressed to the General Assembly a desire to have the Bible translated anew, as the translation then in existence had been vitiated by its schismatic composers. He now gladly entered into the project suggested by Reynolds.

country in war was a blessing of so valuable a nature as to be worthy of being purchased at any price but dishonour. He congratulates his audience, also, on the connection which now subsisted through him between Scotland and England, asking triumphantly, if twenty thousand men be a strong army, are not forty thousand twice as strong? by which he seemed to imply, that he considered Scotland equal to England in military force. He then uses some arguments to show, that it was for the interest of both to be joined in an incorporate union.

It speaks in bitter language of the two sects who carry themselves against the established church: on the one hand, the Puritans, with their affectations of peculiarity, and their seditious sentiments in regard to civil government; on the other hand the Catholics, with their denial of his supremacy over the church, and their disposition to assassinate heretic princes. There can be no peace, he thinks, till these are quelled. Yet he allows that the Church of Rome is his mother church, and that there could be no reasonable objection to it, if it were only cleansed from some impurities. In order to counteract the baneful efforts of these men, he prays the Lords Spiritual to be diligent and exemplary. The devil, he says, is a *busy bishop*, who is always going about endeavouring to confirm men in his black creed; and it is necessary for the Bishops on earth to be equally active on the opposite score. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, quietly remarked, that he might have here used another word.

In conclusion, he made a few remarks upon his distribution of honours and rewards among his

friends; a subject he knew to have excited no little remark, and which he might think liable to misinterpretation. Where there were so many claimants, he said, he found it difficult to perform this duty properly. 'Three kinds of things were craved of me, advancement to honour, preferment to place of credit about my person, and reward in matters of land or profit. If I had bestowed honour upon all, no man would have been advanced to honour, for the degrees of honour consist in preferring some above their fellows. If every man had the like access to my privy or bed-chamber, then no man could have it, because it cannot contain all. And if I had bestowed lands and rewards upon every man, the fountain of my liberality would be so exhausted and dried, as I would lack means to be liberal to any man.' He then acknowledges the error natural in such a case, of having distributed too much; for which he professes repentance, and promises never to do the like again. Hume has remarked the unkingly nature of this explanation; and it certainly was nothing less.

CHAPTER III.

PROPOSED UNION BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND—PUBLICATION OF THE COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO.

1604.

THE chief matter which James presented in this speech to the attention of parliament, was a union betwixt England and Scotland, an object which he had sincerely at heart, and which he thought might now be conveniently effected, since the two countries were at length placed under the guidance of one sovereign, and could never again enter into war against each other. Unfortunately, for a scheme so patriotic, prejudices were entertained in both countries against it; the English fearing that part of their wealth must, in such an event, go to bring Scotland on a par with them; and the Scotch, on the other hand, dreading that their precious system of church-government would be sacrificed to fit them for a match with their Episcopalian neighbours.

The parliaments of both countries were nevertheless prevailed upon to nominate commissioners, who were to meet at London, and consider the propriety or possibility of a union. Before this meet-

ing, which took place on the 20th of the ensuing October, James so far anticipated the object of their deliberations, by uttering a proclamation, in which he declared it his will, that the names England and Scotland should be abolished, and the general name of Great Britain substituted for both. He at the same time made Scottish coins current in both kingdoms, and ordered the cross of St Andrew to take its place beside St George's in the English flag, which was therefore called the Union Jack. It is almost needless to enter into a detail of the transactions which took place among the commissioners. They finished their meetings on the 6th of December, after having settled upon articles which might be presented for the consideration of the King and parliament. But the difficulties which arose in the further progress of this measure were quite insurmountable. Notwithstanding all the anxieties of the King, and all the efforts of some far-sighted men, who, like him, could look beyond national prejudices; notwithstanding the happy wit of a popular poet, who pointed out that the ancient name of the island (Albion), seemed to indicate that they should *all-be-one*—a stroke not likely to be without its effect in an age when the torture of words and letters, rather than the reflection of ideas, was held for wit—the attempt to incorporate the two nations perished with the hearty consent of both.

It could not fail to be amusing to a modern reader, if we were to relate all the traits which can be gleaned from contemporary documents, of the feelings mutually borne towards each other by the English and the Scotch at this juncture; of the swaggering and affected bigness, under which the

Scotch, on the one hand, endeavoured to conceal, perhaps, the meanness of their education and circumstances; of the shameful ignorance under which the English lay, on the other hand, regarding the real situation and character of things in Scotland. Such of the Caledonians as came into England with the King, would appear to have, at the very first, begun to show in what light they held his new kingdom—to wit, as a kind of good thing, which they, as his vassals, were partly entitled to enjoy as well as himself; as only a larger sort of *spulzie*, in short, which their chieftain had secured for the general good of the clan. Perhaps this did not extend to the matter of actual depredation in more than a reasonable number of cases; but the feeling was certainly manifested in the haughty and unruly conduct which the Northerns exhibited in their intercourse with the English. To such a degree did this proceed, that, so early as the 8th of June 1603, James published a proclamation 'for the concord of the English and Scots,' declaring it his resolution to proceed with equal affection and impartiality to both nations, and desiring all officers and magistrates to do the same; the reason for such an edict being, that 'we heare of many insolencies committed by our nation of Scotland to our English subjects,' with this addition further, that 'the magistrates and justices are thought to be remiss towards such, in doubt lest the same should be offensively reported to us.'

The pasquils written at that time, setting off the present pride of the Scotch against the supposed squalor of their origin, are innumerable. Wilson says, 'the English repined to see the Scots advanced from blue bonnets to costly beavers, wear-

ing, instead of wad-meal, velvet and satin, as divers pasquils written in that age satyrically taunted at.' The exchange of *Jockey's* * original blue bonnet, 'that wanted the crown,' for a hat and a feather, is at this day the burden of a song familiar to the ears of children in Scotland, although they are of course quite unaware of the period or circumstances from which it takes its origin. † We have also the following ill-natured picture in a composition of the time.

'Well met, Jockey, whither away?
Shall we two have a word or tway?
Thou was so lousy the other day,
How the devil comes you so gay?
Ha, ha, ha, by Sweet St Anne,
Jockey is grown a gentleman!

'Thy shoes that thou wore'st when thou went'st to plow,
Were made of the hide of a Scottish cow;
They're turned to Spanish leather now,
Bedeckt with roses, I know not how.

'Thy stockings that were of northern blue,
That cost not twelvepence when they were new,
Are turned into a silken hue,
Most gloriously to all men's view.

'Thy belt that was made of a white leather thong,

* The popular epithet for a Scotsman.

† When first my braw Jockey lad cam to the town,
He had a blue bonnet that wanted the crown;
But now he has gotten a hat and a feather—
Hey, brave Jockey lad, cock up your beaver.

Nursery Rhyme.

Which thou and thy father wore so long,
Is turned to a hanger of velvet strong,
With gold and pearls embroidered among.

'Thy garters, that were of Spanish say,
Which from the taylor's thou stole'st away,
Are now quite turned to silk, they say,
With great broad laces fair and gay.

'Thy doublet and breach that were so plain,
On which a louse could scarce remain,
Are turned to satin—God-a-mercy trayne,
That thou by begging could'st this obtain.

'Thy cloake, which was made of a home-spun thread,
Which thou wast wont to fling on thy bed,
Is turned into a scarlet red,
With golden laces about thee spread.

'Thy bonnet of blue, which thou wore'st hither,
To keep thy sconce from wind and weather,
Is thrown away the devil knows whither,
And turned to a braw hat and feather.'

We are afraid it would be difficult for the most thorough-paced defender of his country, to disprove that the Scots did give some little occasion for the sarcasms of the English. They were unquestionably poor, compared with the English, with whom they were at first contrasted. They were worse than that: in cleanliness, they showed ill in comparison with the more refined Southrons. Lady Anne Clifford, who visited the King at Theobald's, on his progress from Edinburgh to London, narrates, without any apparent feeling of national prejudice, that she and her companions became 'all

lousy from sitting in Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber,' * which she remarks to be a change in the fashion of the court from what she had seen in Elizabeth's time: a fact this which must be allowed to bear hard against the nation at large, notwithstanding the palliating circumstance, related by Pepys in his Diary, that in a good inn, at Salisbury, in the later age of Charles the Second, he was deposited in a bed which was in exactly the same predicament with Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber. As for the alleged insolency of the people, we are disposed to allow it in its worst degree. It must have been partly owing to their elation of mind on the score of their good fortune in attending the King to his rich inheritance, and partly assumed from an idea that they could best disguise their native poverty under a bearing of this kind.

Mr Henry Peacham, in his work called 'The Complete Gentleman, which was published in 1622, relates a story of one of the Scottish adventurers of this era, which may be thought illustrative of what is here advanced. After remarking that 'the truly valorous, or any way virtuous, are not ashamed of their mean parentage, but rather glory in themselves, that their merit hath advanced them above so many thousands better descended,' this writer instances a Colonel Clement Edmondes, a Scotsman by birth, who had attained rank in the service of the States-General, purely by dint of his own deserts. A poor countryman of Edmondes, who had newly come out of Scotland, and who was anxious to secure the good will of so influential

* Nichols' Progresses, I. iii.

a person, began to inform him, as there were some strangers present, that my lord his father at home was quite well, and that he had lately seen such and such knights his cousins, who were also in good health; thinking, no doubt, that this was the best way to ingratiate himself with a man of his order. But Edmondes interrupted him in the midst of his rhodomontade, by saying to the gentlemen present, "My friends, do not believe a word that this knave says. My father is but a poor baker of Edinburgh, who works hard for his living. The rogue makes him a lord, only to curry my favour, by making you believe me to be a great man born."

Yet, notwithstanding the jealousies and sarcasms which were expressed towards each other by Scots and English in general, it would appear that the prejudice was not of the most obdurate nature among the courtiers, many of whom matched into each other's families. The Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, and distinguished in history as the conqueror of the Spanish Armada, married, for his third wife, Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter to the late Earl of Murray, and sister to the present. Sir Thomas Erskine, and also Sir John Ramsay, the two chief actors in the Gowry conspiracy, obtained good English matches. These were substantial proofs of amity.

James had amused himself, with his Queen, for some months after his arrival in England, by making progresses to visit their various palaces. He was now settled down into his usual practice of hunting; a mode of spending his time which he defended in the following ingenious manner. Hunting is necessary for my health; my health is necessary for the health of the kingdom; therefore

it is necessary for the good of the kingdom that I hunt. Under cover of this logical deduction, he made no scruple to order his council *not to trouble him with too much business.* His hunting excursions were, however, attended with inconveniences both to himself and others. The people occasionally pressed so much upon him, while engaged in the very heat of the chase, that he was obliged to give up his sport, and take refuge within his palace. This was to present him with petitions. On one occasion, (March 3, 1605,) being interrupted in the field, and compelled to amuse himself by playing cards at home, he issued out a proclamation, commanding that the people should not come to him with their petitions, except when he was going out or coming home. It is pleasing to observe him thus provide for the necessities of his subjects, while he made arrangements for his own amusement. On the other hand, his bringing a large court into parts of the country which were not accustomed to its support, caused, in that age, when provisions were collected by the royal officers at their own prices, much distress to the people. Mr Edmund Lascelles, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, (November 4, 1604,) relates what he calls 'a reasonable pretty jeast,' which was played off at Roystown in remonstrance against this grievance. 'There was one of the King's hounds called *Jowler* missing one day. The King was much displeased that he was wanted; notwithstanding went a hunting. The next day, when they were on the field, Jowler came in among the rest of the hounds; the King was told of him, and was very glad, and, looking on him, spied a paper about his neck, and in the paper

was written, "Good Mr Jowler, we pray you speak to the King, (for he hears you every day, and so doth he not us) that it will please his Majesty to go back to London, for else this country will be undone; all our provision is spent already, and we are not able to entertain him any longer." It was taken for a jeast, and so passed over, for his Majesty intends to ly there yet a fortnight.' In all probability, James conceived little indignation against the author of this *jeu d'esprit*; for he had the generosity, not very common among wits, of being inclined to pardon the most palpable hits against himself, even though accompanied by disrespect towards his royal dignity, from a kind of corporation-feeling which he seems to have entertained in regard to all such matters. A very abusive satire being once read to him, he said, at various passages, that, 'if there were no more men in England, the rogue should hang for it.' At last, however, finding the author conclude with this couplet—

'Now God preserve the King, the Queen, the Peers,
And grant the author long may wear his ears!'—

he burst out a laughing, and said, "By my saul, so thou shalt for me; thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave." *

One of the common charges against James is, that he was too devoted a hunstman, and thus spent, in his personal amusement, much of the time which should have been given to public business. The contemporary satirists are incessant in their complaints on this score, generally

* Howel's Letters, Part I. Letter 30.

stating that he divided his time between his standish and his hounds, that is, his literary and his sylvan pursuits; the former for bad weather, and the latter for good. Surely, however, some deference should be paid to his own apologies to his council, which represent his health as *requiring* the exercise of the chase; a statement countenanced by what is known regarding his originally feeble and imperfect constitution. At the worst, it is a slight fault, and one which could have no worse effect than to throw the management of the kingdom into the hands of the ministers, who were perhaps best fitted for it. It is an ill-natured sort of honesty which causes a historian to institute an inquisition into the private amusements of a sovereign; and there is really no end to the invidious remarks which discontented writers will make against better and greater men than themselves. Could any thing, for instance, be more absurd than the attempt at satire in the following passage of 'Osborne's Traditional Memorials,' one of the principal sources of the slanders which have been handed down in connection with James's name?

'I shall leave him dressed to posterity in the colours I saw him in, the next progress after his inauguration, which was as green as the grass he trod on: with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side; how suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave to others to judge from his pictures; he owning a countenance not semblable to any my eyes ever met with besides an host dwelling beside Anthill, formerly a shepherd.

This professes to be very satirical, and ordinary readers are apt to suppose that it is effective-

ly so; but, when the thing is seriously considered, the costume so severely commented on turns out to be quite the proper dress of a hunstman of high rank at the period, and the sneer at the King's features is what no well-bred person would say of another. The first absurdity is very like one committed by Sir Dudley Carleton, in a satirical account of the Mask of Blackness, wherein he remarks, that the Queen and the Peeresses, who personated Moors in that exhibition, and were of course painted black, would have looked a great deal better in their natural red and white. Mr Gifford, in his notes to Ben Jonson, ironically observes, in reference to this luminous piece of dramatic criticism, that some handsome Othello should take a hint from it, and astonish his audience by appearing some night in his native colours. Yet Sir Dudley Carleton's account of the representation of the Mask of Blackness, is one of the things most frequently quoted by modern writers in ridicule of the court of King James.

The publication of a treatise by the King, under the title of 'A Counterblast to Tobacco,' took place at this period, and has given occasion to fully as much sneering remark as any other circumstance in James's life. 'Two of his works,' says the Quarterly Review, 'the Dæmonology and the Counterblast to Tobacco, are a standing jest with numbers who probably never saw them. The Counterblast is a pamphlet drawn up for the people, with an occasional quiet strain of humour, and an ingenious array of familiar arguments, in a style directly opposed to pedantry, and in language for the most part as plainly English as that of Swift himself; a circumstance worthy of remark in this

and some other works of the King, considering how much he had been accustomed, during his earlier life, to write in the Scottish dialect, and how many of its peculiarities he is said to have retained in his conversation. Had the Counterblast been Green's or Decker's, it would have passed as a very pleasant old tract.' With the whole of this exculpatory pleading we cannot join, although it is in some measure just.—But it will be necessary, in the first place, to make the reader acquainted with the nature of the work in question.

The Counterblast to Tobacco was the first work which James published in England, and it appeared very soon after he had settled himself in that kingdom. It is perhaps the briefest of all his miscellaneous tracts, the first edition being comprised in only a few quarto pages. When first published, it was anonymous; and it is evident from several passages, as well as from the great freedom of language employed, that the author originally designed it to be so. But, perhaps on account of the applause it met with, he afterwards caused it to be received into the collected edition of his acknowledged works, where it cuts as strange a figure, surrounded by polemical and classical discussions, as would the picture of a Dutch drinking-scene by Teniers, if placed amidst the hermits, and saints, and goddesses of the school of Italy.

James, very probably for some reason purely physical, entertained a violent antipathy to the smell of tobacco—an antipathy which he is said to have transmitted to his son Charles I. There is a tradition in Scotland, that he ejected the clergyman of Gullan, a district in East Lothian, for the simple reason of his being an immoderate de-

bauchee in the use of this herb. It would appear, that, on his coming to England, he was greatly shocked to observe the progress which the practice of smoking had made among men of all ranks, and how much it had tended to render disgusting those domestic and convivial scenes upon whose elegance so much of the pleasure of life is dependant. Feeling the grievance bitterly himself, and thinking it must be equally so to many others—inspired, moreover, with a notion that the lives of his subjects were shortened and endangered by smoking, he immediately conceived the idea of setting forth a little anonymous *jeu d'esprit* against it. The title which he assumed for his work is a pun, the word *blast* being then used in England, as in many parts of Scotland at this day, to signify what is now technically called *taking a pipe*.

In the preface to the Counterblast, he alleges, as the cause of this vice, the great increase of wealth in England during an age of peace, which had rendered men effeminate, and compelled them to resort to improper indulgences for the sake of amusement. It is the King's part, he thinks, as 'the proper *physician* of his politicke-bodie,' [he has elsewhere described himself as 'the great *schoolmaster* of the nation,'] to be perpetually on the watch, to observe that his people do not injure themselves in any way whatever. In the present case, however, as the matter is obviously too mean to be a proper subject for animadversion by his Majesty, he thinks it right that a private person, one of the undistinguished public, should take it upon him to admonish them; and such he, as the author, professes to be. At the beginning of the work, he remarks the undignified origin or early

history of tobacco; it having been first used by the Indians for the cure of their vile diseases. It was first introduced, he says, into England by a navigator who had just discovered a large tract of country in America, and who brought, along with this strange herb, and the custom of smoking it, a few of the savage natives of that region: 'But pitie it is,' he says pathetically, 'the poor wild barbarous men died; but that vile barbarous custom is yet alive, yea in fresh vigour.' From his insinuating, in the next sentence, that the man who introduced it, was 'generally hated,' * we are led to suppose that he means Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom popular story ascribes the honour, if such it be—although Baker, in his Chronicles, tells us that the plant was first brought to the country by Ralph Lane, in the 28th of Queen Elizabeth [1586]. The true reasons of its being so favourite a regalement, are the disposition of men to patronise all fashionable novelties; and the notion, very generally diffused, that it was a *Catholicon*, or cure for all kinds of diseases. He holds up a number of arguments, grounded in the superstitious pharmacy of that time, to prove that it is pernicious to the health. 'Such,' says he, in a strain of amusing irony, 'is the miraculous omnipotencie of our strong-tasted tobacco, that it cures all contrarious sorts of diseases, in all persons, and at all times. It cures the gout in the feet; and (which is miraculous) in that very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies up into the head,

* Sir Walter was, in his own time, a very unpopular character. His great reputation in later times is to be ascribed to the esteem in which posterity has held his eminent abilities, his liberal principles, and his unhappy fate.

the virtue thereof, as heavy, runs down to the little toe. It helps all sorts of agues. It makes a man sober that was drunk. It refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one sleep soundly, and yet, being taken when a man is sleepie and drowsie, it will, as they say, awake his brain, and quicken his understanding. As for curing the pockes, it serves for that use but among the pockie Indian slaves. Here in England it is refined, and will not dare to cure here any other than gentlemanly and cleanly diseases. O omnipotent power of tobacco! And if it could by the smoake thereof cast out devils, as the smoake of Tobias' fish did, (which I am sure could smell no stronger), it would serve for a precious relicke, both for the superstitious priests, and the insolent puritans, to cast out devils withall.'

Towards the conclusion of the treatise, he breaks out into several bursts of testy feeling against the object of his invective, and exhibits altogether an exacerbation of spirit, that can scarcely fail to make the reader laugh, proceeding as it does in such serious earnest, from what was after all but an accident of taste, and that in a very homely and even ludicrous matter. In one place, he gravely makes it out a kind of treason for the people to smoke tobacco, seeing that, by doing so, they disable their bodies for the service of their king and country. 'What a shameful imbecility,' says he, 'have ye brought yourselves to, that you are not able to ride or walke the journey of a Jewes Sabbath, but you must have a reekie cole brought you from the next poore house to kindle your tobacco with!' After remarking, that the proper characteristic of

a good soldier is to endure the want of food and sleep, not to speak of this vile indulgence, he asks, if, 'in the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this nation, there was any word of tobacco?' If any of you, says he to the soldiers, stayed behind your fellows on a march, in order to smoke tobacco, 'for my part I should never be sorry for any evil chance that might befall him.' He points out, as a strong reason for the abolition of this custom, its expensiveness; 'some gentlemen bestowing *three hundred*, some *four hundred* pounds a yeere on this precious stinke, which I am sure might be bestowed upon far better uses;' a statement almost incredible, unless we allow for the great quantities consumed at entertainments, and for the duty or tax, which James, by way of enforcing his literary efforts, had raised to more than six shillings a pound. 'I read, indeed,' he continues, 'of a knavish courtier, who, for abusing the favour of the Emperor Severus his master, by taking bribes to intercede for sundry persons in his master's care (for whom he never once opened his mouth), was justly choked with smoke, with this doome, *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit;* but of so many smoke-buyers, as are at present in this kingdom, I never read nor heard.'

Having remarked the extreme impropriety of smoking at dinner, and mentioned the fact, that the stomachs of great smokers had been found, on dissection, to contain 'an oily kind of soote,' (which must have been a mere superstition of the day), he deplores the necessity which had compelled some men averse from smoking to take of it in self-defence, and also inveighs against the

sentiment which now generally obtained, that not to smoke with a friend was a mark of incivility and pettishness. 'Yea,' says he, 'the mistresse [of a house] cannot in a more mannerly kind, entertain her servant, than by giving him, out of her faire hand, a pipe of tobacco.' He then points out the disagreeable change which a habit of smoking produces upon the breath; adding, 'Moreover, which is a great iniquitie, and against all humanity, the husband shall not be ashamed to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and clean-complexioned wife to that extremity, that either she must also corrupt her sweet breath therewith, or els resolve to live in a perpetual stinking torment!'

'Have ye not then reason to be ashamed,' says the royal pamphleteer, in conclusion, and we must be excused for giving this paragraph in the same emphatic arrangement of type as in the original, 'and to forbear this filthie noveltie, so basely grounded, so foolishly received, and so grossly mistaken in the right use thereof? In your abuse thereof, sinning against God, harming yourselves both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the notes and marks of vanitie upon you; by the custom thereof making yourselves be wondered at by all foreign civill nations, and by all strangers that come among you to be scorned and contemned: A custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmfull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stygian smoake of the pit that is bottomlesse.'

Such is the celebrated Counterblast to Tobacco; and assuredly, after perusing these specimens, and giving but a glance to the general nature of the book, few readers will hesitate to join the present writer in considering it a most *outré* and most unkingly performance. True, it was originally written in the assumed character of a plebeian, expressly from a consciousness on the part of the author that it was not a subject of sufficient dignity for a king to handle. But yet, as he acknowledged it afterwards, and gave it a place in his works, that is but a slight palliation of such a monstrous offence against good taste, such a remediless violation of every thing like professional respectability. I am afraid, the Counterblast must be resigned to the laughter of those who hold James in contempt, as a most notable instance of that homely spirit by which he was so perpetually breaking down the divinity he believed himself to be hedged with. Like most of his other offences, it involved no personal baseness; and perhaps it ought to be allowed to possess merit as a *jeu d'esprit.* But nothing else can be said in its favour.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

1605.

JAMES had lived upwards of two years in England, enjoying all the happiness which a well-meaning prince can derive from the government of a peaceful, prosperous, and affectionate people: to use his own phrase, he had lived two years and a half of *perpetual Christmas;* when his quiet was suddenly disturbed by the Gunpowder Treason—certainly the most magnificent, as well as the most atrocious crime, ever devised within the memory of written history.

The *denouement* of this 'big black plot,' as a quaint writer of the day entitled it, was preceded by few of those scintillations or noiseless lightnings which generally foretell the bursting of such a thunderstorm both in the real and the metaphorical atmosphere. It was rather like the unpredicted earthquake, which, but one moment after peace, and sunshine, and life, and happiness, produces tumult and darkness, death and despair.

Yet the motives of the enterprise may be traced far backwards into the history of England; and, in order to see good reasons for such an attempt, we have only to call to mind the continued exer-

tions of the Catholics, on the one hand, for half a century, to restore their religion, or at least procure toleration, and the continued persecution with which government, on the other hand, persisted in visiting them. The unhappy professors of this faith, who of course were chiefly inoffensive persons in ordinary life, had, ever since the Reformation, suffered under penal laws equally revolting to justice and humanity. They had hoped for a relaxation of those statutes when James came to the throne, and also more particularly on the peace with Spain, in both of which cases they were disappointed. James was sufficiently disposed, on his own part, to befriend them, and, indeed, did make no difference, in the distribution of his favours, between the loyal of their religion, and the loyal of that which was established; but, in regard to what was by far the most prominent part of the Catholic body, those Jesuits and others, who employed themselves in secret intrigues with foreign princes against him, and who, seeking to deprive him of his ecclesiastical supremacy, advanced the doctrine that it was lawful to destroy or dethrone a heretic prince, he both talked and acted in a style of the most determined severity. It was, in reality, among these enthusiasts, and not among the Catholics in general, that the Gunpowder Treason took its rise; and to them, in particular, belongs, as a matter of course, the infamy of the transaction—if it does not rather belong to the government which, urged by the popular spirit of persecution, exasperated the whole professors of this faith by its cruelties, till these men resolved, by an act of unparalleled daring and wickedness, to

become at once the avengers of its quarrel, and the restorers of its ancient prosperity and influence.

The project in which this resolution ended, of blowing up the King and his family, and all the other members of the government and legislature, by a mine under the Parliament-House, was probably suggested by a similar plot which was set on foot nine years before, by a person of the family of Este, for destroying the Consistory at Rome; for among the conspirators there were many men whose intercourse with Italy was sufficient to make that incident familiar to them. By another conjecture, it might have been suggested by recollection of the fate of Lord Darnley, the King's father, who was blown up in the Kirk-of-Field at Edinburgh. The persons first associated in the conspiracy were five gentlemen, Robert Catesby of Ashby, in Leicestershire; Thomas Percy, kinsman * and factor to the Earl of Northumberland; Thomas Winter, and Guido Fawkes, men of good family, who had become soldiers of fortune; and John Wright, of whom nothing particular is related. All had been more or less concerned in those dark and traitorous intrigues with foreign Catholic princes which have just been hinted at, and which ended at last in this dreadful scheme; but, if there were any individual among them who conceived the idea of a mine before the rest, it would appear to have been Catesby, a descendant of the celebrated minister of Richard III., and who had long been noted as a man of designing and fanatical character. Fawkes, in his confessions, informs us that this person *propounded* the scheme to the

* The exact degree of relationship is not known.

other five; but his evidence, in some points, does not exactly consist with that of Thomas Winter. It seems to have been in spring 1604—that is, a year after the King came to England—that the project was first agreed upon by the five conspirators; at which time, the parliament was expected to meet in the ensuing February. Perhaps it should be mentioned, that Percy originally entertained a design of assassinating the King with his own hand, in revenge for the non-fulfilment of certain promises which he pretended that James had extended to the English Catholics through him; but, on his disclosing his intention to Catesby, that deeper traitor easily persuaded him to slump his own individual scheme in the general one, which had the double advantage of being more complete in its plan of avenging the Catholic cause, and more safe in execution. The project, as then laid down by Catesby, simply was, to run a mine under the House of Lords; there to deposit a proper quantity of gunpowder; to await the moment when the members of both Houses should be assembled on the first day of the parliament to hear the King's speech; and then, by setting fire to the mine, to destroy in one moment the whole assemblage, King, Lords, and Commons, comprising as it were the very flower of the nation. In the confusion which they calculated upon causing by this terrible act, they believed they should be able to remodel the church and state as they pleased; and, as they expected the two young princes to be involved in the general destruction, they designed to seize the person of the Princess Elizabeth, living at Exton with Lord Harrington, whom they

should proclaim Queen, and educate as a Catholic.

The scheme was disclosed, in its progress, to a small knot of English Jesuits, with whom the conspirators were in strict confidence—men who, having spent their whole lives in intrigues with foreign states for the restoration of their religion, had lost every sentiment of patriotism, and swamped almost all the other moral virtues in one overpowering enthusiasm. It is even supposed that Garnet, the principal of these persons, divided with Catesby the merit of conceiving the plot. Whatever share they had in its projection, it is certain they were equally active with the five laymen in furthering it.

When the scheme was settled upon, Percy took, upon lease, a solitary house in Westminster Yard, near the House of Lords, where, about Michaelmas 1604, he and three of his four associates began to dig a subterraneous passage towards that edifice, while Fawkes, the least known of all the party, kept watch without. At this time, the parliament was expected to meet on the ensuing 7th of February; and it was their intention, before that period, to have a large chamber excavated underneath the Parliament-House, wherein they should deposit the powder. The labour of digging was very severe to men who had hitherto lived so differently; but, to support existence, they had baked meats and wines brought into the vault—enthusiasm supplied the rest. They also had their arms deposited beside them as they wrought, being determined, in case of a discovery, to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Thus they proceeded with incredible diligence for about three

months, carrying the rubbish out every night, and burying it beneath the soil of the adjacent garden. At last, about Christmas, they reached the wall of the Parliament-House, which, being three yards thick, proved a serious obstacle. Nevertheless, they continued for six weeks more, picking the hard old mason-work of that structure, through which they advanced at the rate of about a foot a week. At Candlemas, about five days before the expected meeting of parliament, they had only got about half way through the wall, and were despairing of being ready in time, when, fortunately for them, the meeting was prorogued till the ensuing October.

During the progress of their labour, it was thought expedient to admit other two persons into the conspiracy, for the sake of their assistance in digging; namely, Christopher Wright, brother to John Wright, and Robert Winter, the brother of Thomas. Previous to being made privy to the project, they were bound to secrecy under the following oath, which was administered by Garnet, along with the communion:

'You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.'

One day, as they were busied in their excavations, they heard a rushing sound, such as is made by a pile of coal which has fallen forward, and which seemed to proceed from the inner side of the wall. Afraid lest they were discovered, they grasped their arms, and prepared to stand

to their defence. But, no farther symptom of detection taking place, they gradually recovered from their alarm, and sent Fawkes, the sentinel, to ascertain the cause of the noise. He soon returned, with information that it proceeded from a cellar under the Parliament-House, in which a large quantity of coal was at present in the progress of being sold off, and that, after the coal should be sold, the cellar was to be let to any one who might chuse to take it; the familiar system upon which all things were established in that age being such, that the vaults under the Assembly-house of the English senate, were let out for the meanest purposes, and probably for sums too trifling to be named. * They instantly formed the resolution of giving up their work, and taking this cellar. Fawkes was commissioned to do so in the name of Percy, whom he professed to be his master; and the ostensible use he proposed to put it to, was that of serving as a coal-cellar for the house which had been previously taken, and in which they were now carrying on their operations. When this was done, they gladly resigned their labours, which, but for the fanaticism that prompted them, must have been intolerable. They at the same time took an opportunity of conveying the stores of wood and gunpowder which they had provided for the mine, from a yard at Lambeth, on the other side of the Thames, where they had hitherto been kept, to the

* It is observable, from the records of the Town-Council of Edinburgh, that in the latter part of the fifteenth century, there were twelve booths or shops in the lower part of the Tolbooth or Town-house—a structure which occasionally gave accommodation to the Parliament of Scotland.

cellar, which could now afford them accommodation. Thus, they gained the double advantage of saving themselves a great deal of labour, and of having the tools they worked with brought into a smaller space. There was also this advantage in the cellar, which they might have wanted in the mine, that it was immediately under the royal throne, and therefore most likely to secure the principal object of the conspiracy. *

On the prorogation of parliament, they thought proper to retire into the country, lest, by lingering out the intermediate time in the house, without visible business, they might become liable to suspicion. Fawkes, commissioned by the rest, went over to Flanders, to arrange matters with a number of English Catholic refugees, for an invasion of the country to take place after the explosion. In July, while the rest were absent, Percy caused an additional quantity of powder to be deposited in the cellar. He and Catesby, about the same time, had a meeting at Bath, where it was arranged, that for the sake of raising money, of which they were in need, the latter should take into the conspiracy whatever wealthy men he might think fit; and thus were admitted, Sir Edward Digby, a gentleman of twenty-five years of age, who seems to have been amiable in every other respect, but his accession to this plot, and Mr Francis Tresham, a respectable country gentleman; the former promising fifteen hundred pounds towards the general fund, and the latter two thousand. Percy had already promised four thousand pounds out of the Earl of Northumberland's rents, to be

* Somers' Tracts, ii. 101.

realized when the next payments came into his hands.

As the parliament was now expected to sit down on the 5th of October, the conspirators assembled in London towards the end of September, and finally prepared their mine, by changing such of the powder as they supposed might have become damp, and making up the whole to thirty-six barrels, large and small, being in all the weight of nine or ten thousand pounds, which they covered over with large beams of wood and iron, to increase the effect, and with faggots and lumber, to give it an innocent appearance in the eye of the public. There were now in all twenty-two persons acquainted with the dreadful design; yet, such was the common enthusiasm which bound them, and such the impression of those awful religious rites under which they had received the secret, that hitherto no one had either relented in his purpose, or breathed a whisper of it to any unconcerned person. As yet, these extraordinary men, most of whom were hitherto guiltless of the slightest offence cognizable by law, contemplated, without a feeling of compunction, the prospect of destroying thirty thousand of their fellow-creatures, (for such was the number expected to perish); and they who, in general life, would have scrupled to inflict the least wound on an individual, were induced, by the mistaken but irresistible zeal of religion, to lay a whole nation, as it were, desolate. One scruple eventually rose in the mind of the father of the plot: It struck the mind of Catesby as a dreadful thing, that many Catholics would necessarily be involved in the same destruction with the Protestants; and he put it as a case

of conscience to Garnet, 'Whether, for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause, (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring,) it be lawful, or not, among many nocents, to destroy and take away some innocents also?' The Jesuit, with the sophistry proverbially ascribed to his order, replied, that it certainly was lawful so to do, provided that the good to be obtained thereby were greater than the evil to be procured by saving both; instancing, as a similar matter of expediency, that an army advancing to besiege a town is not to be prevented from resorting to the usual modes of attack by the fear of injuring a few friends who may be among the besieged. Catesby was content with this solution, and further scruple arose not.

While they were rejoicing, with the joy of fanaticism, in the near approach of the fatal day, Parliament was once more prorogued—till the fifth of November—being for the third time. This was so unusual, that they feared it to be occasioned by a discovery of their design; and, on the day when the commission of prorogation was read in the House, they mingled with the crowd, to mark if any trace of what they apprehended could be read in the countenances of the commissioners. No symptom appeared: the commissioners walked and conversed together, after the ceremony was done, over the very spot where the powder was deposited. The conspirators retired, with re-assured minds, to the country, to spend the intermediate month.

At the end of October, having again assembled at London, the arrangements were once more placed by them on the same footing as at the end

of the preceding month. To each was assigned some particular duty or place. To Fawkes, as the most expert and most daring, was assigned the task of firing the mine. He was to mark the proper hour for doing so by a pocket-watch, with which, though then a rare article, he had provided himself. Half an hour before the crisis when the assemblage was expected to be fully met, he was to ignite a match which should take that space of time to burn; and then, getting on board a vessel stationed for him on the Thames, he was to set sail for Flanders, where he was to publish a defence of the plot, endeavour to procure the favour of the Catholic princes, and, as soon as possible, send over a supply of men, arms, and ammunition. Immediately after the explosion, as the Duke of York was not expected to be present, Percy was to enter the palace by virtue of his character of gentleman-pensioner, and carry off the person of that member of the royal family, under the pretence of conveying him to a place of safety. Tresham, Digby, and others, were to seize the Princess Elizabeth at Exton. Catesby was to proclaim her as Queen at Charing-Cross, with a protector during her minority. Various measures were taken for conveying early intelligence of the event to remote districts, where insurrections were to be expected. For the ecclesiastical members of the plot, who scrupled to act in it personally, was assigned a place on an eminence near Hampstead, from whence they could gratify themselves with a distant view of the explosion. This spot is, to the present day, appropriately termed *Traitors' Hill.* It was also provided, that, on the morning of the fatal day, they should take mea-

sures for preventing a certain number of the Catholic peers and members from attending the House. The number comprehended all whom they judged it to be prudent to tamper with.

It would almost seem, from the apparent inevitability of the explosion at this stage of the narrative, as if there were some truth in what Guy Fawkes said after its detection, that God would have concealed it, but the Devil disclosed it. Various theories have been started, as to the way in which it was discovered; as, that Henry IV. of France learned some particulars of it, which he disclosed to James; that the Earl of Salisbury, (lately Sir Robert Cecil), being at the bottom of it, also brought it to an ecclaircissement, and so forth. But, after all, the only feasible account of the matter is that published officially at the time, and universally accepted, which was in substance nearly as follows:—

On the evening of Saturday, the 26th of October, eleven days before the meeting of Parliament, Lord Mounteagle, (son of Lord Morley, but himself a peer by inheritance from his mother), when about to sit down to supper, received a letter from one of his footmen, which the man said had been delivered to him by an 'unknown man of a reasonable tall personage,' as he was crossing the street on an errand with which his lordship had just commissioned him. This was in Mounteagle's lodging, in one of the streets of London. The young nobleman, having broken open the letter, and found it to be written in a somewhat cramp hand, caused one of his domestics to read it to him aloud; when it was found to be literally as follows:—

'My lord out of the love i beare to some of youere frends i heave a caer of youer preservaceon therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender yower lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of youer attendance at this parleament for god and man hath concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and think not slyghtlye of this advertesment but retyere youre self into youre contri wheare yowe may expect the event in safti for thoughe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye thaye shall recỳve a terribel blowe this parleament and yet they shall not see who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it may do yowe goode and can do yowe no harme for the danger is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hop god will give yowe the grace to mak a good use of it to whose holy protection i commend yowe.'

This letter was addressed on the back, 'To the Right Honourable the Lord Mow'teagle;' but it was without date and subscription. Lord Mounteagle was of course much puzzled what to make of its mysterious contents. His first impression was, that it was what in modern phraseology is called a *hoax*, to prevent him from attending parliament; but he afterwards conceived, probably from the firm though inelegant language in which the epistle was expressed, that it was of sufficient importance to be laid before his Majesty's Secretary of State. Accordingly, without regard to the lateness of the hour (seven), the discomforts of a winter night, or, what would appear to have then been the chief obstacle, the darkness of the streets of London, he walked immediately to the

palace of Whitehall, where he delivered the mysterious document to the Earl of Salisbury.

Cecil, having read the letter, gave Lord Monteagle thanks for having brought it to him; not, he said, because there seemed to be much meaning in it, but it might refer to a design which, he had heard, was entertained by the Catholics, of presenting a petition to the parliament this session, so well backed that the government should be unable to refuse it. Such was the mysterious language, in all probability, which some of the conspirators held on the subject among their friends, and in which Cecil had already received some information regarding the plot from abroad. This wily statesman said no more at the time to Lord Monteagle; but, immediately conveying the letter to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, he began to consult with that officer regarding its meaning, which both at once conceived to refer to an explosion of gunpowder, to take place while the parliament was assembled.* It has generally been thought strange that the truth was thus pitched upon so quickly, seeing that the letter was written in the darkest language, and the idea of an explosion of gunpowder under the Parliament House was not abstractly an obvious one. Yet, if the letter be very attentively perused, it will be found that the mind is naturally led by the language to this conclusion, or at least, recondite as it is, can hit upon no other.

Before making any resolution upon the subject, Cecil thought proper to take the opinion of other

* Letter from the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Charles Cornwallis, Winwood's Memorials.

three members of the council, the Earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton; all of whom agreed with him in thinking the letter not unworthy of attention. It was determined, however, by the whole five, that it might be advantageous to make no stir about it for a few days, both to let the supposed plot ripen, and that they might then have the opinion of the King, who was to return from the hunting at Roystoun on Thursday, and whose 'fortunate judgment in clearing and solving of riddles' was well known to them. Accordingly, on Friday next, the day after his Majesty arrived in town, the Earl of Salisbury presented it to him in his gallery, without any other preamble than a relation of the manner in which it came into his hands.

James read the letter, paused, read it again, and then remarked, that this was a warning by no means to be despised. This could be no pasquil, he said, no mere attempt at bringing Lord Monteagle into a ludicrous situation; the style was too pithy and emphatic, too sincere, to be interpreted in that sense. Salisbury called his Majesty's attention to one particular sentence, 'The danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter,' which he thought could only be the composition of a madman or a driveller; for, if the mere incremation of this frail sheet could avert the appre-hended mischief, what need of the warning? James, however, was of opinion that that clause ought to be interpreted in another sense, that the danger would be as sudden and speedy in execution as the burning of a sheet of paper in the fire; and he therefore conjectured that it was by gun-

powder under the House of Lords that the Parliament was to receive such ‘ a terrible blow.’

Salisbury, who considered James ‘ an *understanding prince*, if any we ever had, ’ * was much struck by his reasoning on this subject, which, though not coincident with his own, led to the same conclusion. He left him, however, for that time, without proposing any measures of security, but rather ‘ with a merrie jeast, as his custome was; ’ † and it was not till after a second consultation with the four Earls, that he next day condescended to allow, before the King, that there was any necessity for such proceedings. It was then agreed between them, in presence of the Lord Chamberlain, that the latter officer should, in accordance with the duties of his office, institute a search through the apartments under the Parliament House; though not till the evening before Parliament was to assemble, in order that the plot, if any such existed, might be discovered at its very ripest. Perhaps it should here be mentioned, that the honour of unriddling the letter, which we have given to King and minister severally, is claimed exclusively by each—by Cecil in his well-known letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, and by King James in his authorized relation—but that, if James had been informed by Cecil that he and Suffolk had also thought of gunpowder, no claim would have been made for him higher than the honour of having also done so, though in the second instance. ‡ At the same time, it must be

* So he terms him in a private letter.

† Narrative in James's Works.

‡ Several writers, not observing what is here pointed out, sneer unmercifully at the King for supposing himself

allowed, against the merit claimed by the King, that, although the interpretation put by him upon the principal sentence of the letter, was a fortunate one, it could not be the true one: for it seems evident that the writer merely meant, by it, to induce Mounteagle to burn the letter, in order to put himself out of all danger from being privy to a conspiracy.

By a singularly fortuitous circumstance, the conspirators very soon learned that the letter had been sent to Mounteagle. The domestic who had read it to his Lordship at table, having a friendship for Thomas Winter, called upon him next evening; told him that such a letter had been received; that Mounteagle, suspecting a plot, had instantly laid it before Salisbury; and entreated that, if he were concerned in any such enterprise, he should immediately abandon it, and fly from London. While the man was in his presence, the conspirator affected to treat the matter lightly; but he was no sooner alone, than he set out for Enfield Chase, and communicated what he had heard to a meeting of his associates. They were much alarmed at the intelligence, and some even proposed to give up the adventure; Catesby, however, insisted upon sending Fawkes to London, 'to trie the uttermost;' declaring that, if he were in the shoes of that person, he would not scruple to go forward. Fawkes went and came safe back, declaring that he had found every thing as it was; which again elevated their spirits. They had a meeting

to have been the detector of the gunpowder treason. Such he really was, notwithstanding that other two persons, unknown to him, had pitched upon the same idea before him.

at Barnet on Friday, when, by general consent, Tresham was taxed with the guilt of having written the letter; which, however, he denied. On Saturday, the very day when it was agreed by the King and ministers to make a search, Tresham met Winter in Lincoln's Inn walks, with information that Salisbury had shown the letter to the King; on which Winter counselled Catesby that all should be abandoned; Catesby now consenting to this, it was resolved only to wait till next day, in order to take Percy with them. On Sunday, however, Percy prevailed upon them to reverse their resolution, and remain where they were. He himself meanwhile went to the country, to a seat of the Earl of Northumberland.

On Monday afternoon, the search was made, as designed, by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied by Whinyard, keeper of the King's wardrobe, and by Lord Mounteagle. After inspecting several of the lower apartments and vaults, they came to that in which the conspirators had deposited their powder, which they found stuffed full of faggots, billets, and coal, together with some old furniture. The Chamberlain asked Whinyard for what purpose this apartment was kept, and was informed that it was let to Thomas Percy, the occupant of the neighbouring house, for a coal-cellar. Then casting his eye around the place, he observed a tall man standing in a corner—the demon Fawkes—who, on being questioned what he was, described himself as Percy's man, at present employed to keep the house and cellar in his master's absence. Here Lord Mounteagle, who had accompanied the party, privately informed the Chamberlain, that he could not help

suspecting Percy to be the writer of the letter, recollecting, as he did, his suspected religion, and an old friendship which might have induced him to give him this warning.

Notwithstanding this hint, Suffolk left the vault as he found it, but not till he had made an accurate, though apparently a very careless inspection of the place and its contents. On reporting what he had seen to the King and his little party of councillors, and acquainting them moreover with Mounteagle's suspicion, they felt themselves distracted between a desire of taking every precaution for the safety of the King's person, and a fear lest any search they might make would be found vain, and only draw upon them the ridicule of the public; all agreeing, however, that there were now more shrewd causes for suspicion than before. After this question had been discussed for some time with considerable anxiety, James decided them at last in favour of a search; but proposed that it should be conducted by a mere Justice of the Peace, and under pretence of inquiring for some hangings, lately missed out of the wardrobe; by which means, they might avoid giving offence to the Earl of Northumberland, Percy's kinsman and employer, and also save themselves from the proper consequences of the hoax, if such it should turn out.

Towards midnight, therefore, Sir Thomas Knyvett, a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and who was at the same time one of the justices of Westminster, proceeded with a small party of soldiers to the Parliament-House; leaving the King and his band of councillors to await the result in the privy gallery of Whitehall. Meanwhile,

Fawkes, alarmed by the afternoon visit of the Chamberlain, but still resolved to run every risk, spent the evening in the vault, making the necessary arrangements for the explosion. Having just completed these preparations, he had quitted his den of latent sulphur, and was standing in front of the door, booted as for a journey, when Knyvett came up with his party, and took him prisoner. Then pushing forward into the vault, and turning over a few of the faggots, the party discovered one of the smaller barrels of powder, and eventually the whole thirty-six. There being no longer any doubt as to the conspiracy, a gentleman was sent up to a chamber where Fawkes was disposed, in order to search and bind his person. The monster made great resistance; griped the gentleman's left hand so violently as to provoke him to draw his dagger, which however, he did not use, from the wish of procuring an organ of evidence; and when tripped up, and thrown upon the ground, where all the parapharnalia of matches, tinder-box, and dark-lantern, were taken from his person, he exclaimed in an agony of disappointed enthusiasm, that he wished he had had time to ignite the train, and thereby spend upon himself and his captors the engine of destruction, intended for a much larger and more important company.

Knyvett lost no time in communicating intelligence of his discovery to the Chamberlain, who immediately burst in a transport of joy into the place where the King and his councillors were assembled, exclaiming that all was found out—all was safe. The amazement of the company, when the contents of the vault was described, it would

be difficult to imagine. Fawkes was in the meantime brought up to a neighbouring apartment, to await an examination before the King, who had resolved not to go to bed till he should learn more of the plot. While standing there, an object of horror beyond all parellel, some one had the curiosity to ask him if he were not sorry for 'his so foul and heinous treason.' He answered, in the language of Scævola, that he was sorry for nothing but that it was not performed. Being reminded that he would have involved many of his own persuasion in the same destruction, he replied, that a few might well perish to have the rest taken away. To one of the King's countrymen, who asked him what he had intended with so many barrels of gunpowder, he answered, that it was to blow the Scotch beggars back to their native mountains. He was told that he should suffer a worse death than the assassin of the late Prince of Orange; but he rejoined, that he could bear it as well. Every expression indicated a character of singular energy, and that his purpose was still warm upon his mind. He often repeated, when the hopelessness of pardon was spoken of to him, that he should have merited it if he had accomplished his design. On torture being mentioned, he said, he would suffer ten thousand deaths rather than accuse his master or any other. He had been the sole projector of the enterprise, as he was to have been its sole executor; and for that, if such was his destiny, he was willing to render his existence.

His behaviour before the Privy Council, which which was immediately assembled in considerable number, may be given in the King's own words. 'Notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt

of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him by coming before so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions that every man did vex him with, yet was his countenance as farre from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (he said) the devil and not God, was the discoverer; answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions that were propounded unto him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the Councill get nothing out of him touching his complices, refusing to answer to any such questions which he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto he said he was moved only for religion and conscience sake; denying the King to be his lawful sovereigne, or the Anoynted of God, in respect he was a hereticke, and giving himself no other name than John Johnston, servant to Thomas Percy. But the next morning,' adds the King, 'being carried to the Tower, hee did not there remaine above two or three dayes, being twise or thrise in that space re-examined, and the racke only offered and shown unto him, when the maske of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face, and then he did begin to confesse part of the truth. * * *'

The amazement and agitation into which the public was thrown by this extraordinary discovery, went beyond all precedent; and long before day the streets were crowded with people, all anxiously inquiring for the circumstances.

The behaviour of the conspirators, after their de-

signs were discovered, was that of men who, rather than be baulked in a gratification which they have long and anxiously expected, will submit to the most desperate risks, and hazard death itself, rather than lose even the last relic of a once glorious prospect. Such of them as were in London at the time, fled to the country, taking with them a few horses, some of which they had stolen during the night from a riding-master. Having reached the rendezvous at Dunsmoor, long before any intelligence of the conspiracy, they there attempted, with their companions, to raise a Catholic insurrection. Every effort, however, was unavailing. When they found themselves unsuccessful in the first instance, they proceeded rapidly through Warwickshire and Worcestershire, calling upon every one whom they thought likely to join them. But the King's proclamations roused the sheriffs in pursuit, before they had raised two score of men; and, after a harassing journey, or rather flight of three days, they threw themselves into Holbeach House, on the borders of Staffordshire, the seat of Stephen Littleton, one of their adherents; where they were scarcely housed, before the sheriff of Worcestershire appeared before them, and summoned them to surrender. They were at first very confident; told the officer that he would require a greater company to take them; and prepared with great coolness to defend themselves from the expected attack. But as they were drying a small quantity of gunpowder before a fire in their chamber, a spark flew out and set fire to it; by which the roof was blown off, and Catesby, with other conspirators, so much scorched as to be almost unable to fight. It was remarked as strange

that they thus suffered by the same instrument which they designed to use for the destruction of others. * The house now beginning to take fire, they were obliged to resolve upon sallying forth among the sheriff's company, as their only remaining chance of escape. On their opening the door to do so, instead of their getting out, the sheriff's men rushed in, and that in such a strong tide as to put escape out of the question. They then began a desperate fight in the court-yard. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, placing themselves back to back, stood for some time, magnanimously contending against a host of inferior foes. At last a man of the name of Street, belonging to Worcester, loaded his piece double, and, laying it deliberately over a neighbouring wall, killed Catesby with one bullet, and mortally wounded Percy with the other. Winter, previously wounded in the belly with a pike, was at the same moment taken prisoner by a man who came behind and threw his arms around him. As Rookwood, Grant, and all the other principal conspirators were by this time brought down, the rest submitted without farther debate.

All the survivors of this fray, together with a few others, such as Everard Digby and Garnet the Jesuit, who were taken elsewhere, were soon after brought to London to stand trial. Culprits more odious to their fellow-countrymen never perhaps

* A much larger quantity of powder, which lay in a bag near the other, was tossed by it into the court-yard, without taking fire; and the people further took notice, that only enough was ignited to scorch them; whereas, if the larger quantity had exploded, none could have survived to give an account of the plot.

were apprehended in England. As they passed along, the people flocked around them with eager curiosity, but shrunk as quickly back from the sight of a set of countenances, whereon they conceived, in their horror, that the Almighty had set a stamp indicative of supernatural guilt. The King at first desired to see them on their examination; but, hearing that their visages were, as one of his courtiers expresses it, the most terrible ever looked on, he said he felt himself sorely appalled at the thought, and chose rather to be absent. * Whatever were James's sensations upon the subject in general, and we may easily conceive them to have been by no means of a tranquil nature, he surprised the public very much by the moderation with which he talked of the plot, four days after its discovery, at the opening of parliament. While the whole country was ringing with execrations of the Roman Catholics, James then made it his endeavour to show, that the whole profession ought by no means to be blamed for the conspiracy, but only the few desperate individuals who were already detected as guilty in it. This strange conduct was partly owing, perhaps, to a candid and rational interpretation which he put upon the plot, but more, in all likelihood, to the fear in which he stood all his life of incensing the Papists beyond bounds.

It seems unnecessary to follow these unfortunate men through all the details of their trial and execution. Suffice it to say, that, during both, they generally conducted themselves with the same hardened spirit which had led them through the

* Letter of Lord Harrington of Exton.

dreadful enterprise itself. The King, who had previously ordered the 5th of August to be observed as a holiday an account of the Gowry treason, added the more noted 5th of November to the list, where it has ever since remained—though we may be permitted to observe the time has surely now arrived, when all such memorials of the strife of party in the early periods of our history should perish. *

* The Earl of Northumberland being suspected, and afterwards found guilty, of a certain degree of accession to the Gunpowder treason, through his kinsman Percy, was fined in L.30,000, and confined for many years in the Tower.

CHAPTER V.

VISIT OF THE KING OF DENMARK—QUARRELS WITH PARLIAMENT.

1606—1610.

For some years after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the tenor of James's life was marked by no incident of great importance, while the history of the country is almost equally barren in matters of interest. Having, in 1604, concluded the war with Spain—on poor terms for England, it was said—he and the country had now settled down into the full enjoyment of his favourite maxim, *Beati pacifici;* a peace little disturbed during the remaining twenty years of his life. One of the charges against James is, that he compromised the honour of his country by truckling to inferior continental states, for the sake of preserving the peace he loved so much; and he is generally compared to the coward, who, for failing to give one good blow when it is needed, subjects himself to an endless series of injuries and affronts. We should not fail to observe, however, amidst all the ridicule and censure thrown upon the King for this reason, the grand decisive fact, which stands so boldly out in his favour, that, during his

whole reign, the country was in a condition perhaps the most prosperous—the most truly happy it had ever known. Without forgetting how much of this was owing to the excellent reign of Elizabeth, we should allow a proper proportion of merit to the benevolent and moderate government of King James; and by no means forget that, without the peace which he secured for the nations he governed, they never could have enjoyed the benefits wrought out by his predecessor. In estimating the character, moreover, of a peaceful monarch, much may well be allowed for the poor figure which his doings make on the pages of contemporary history, as contrasted with those of more warlike sovereigns; for, while every stroke struck by the military adventurer receives ample commemoration and praise, scarcely a sentence is ever, by any chance, allowed to the widely-diffused domestic happiness, the advance of commerce and the arts, and the increase of all the elegancies of life, which have been secured by the man who has had the wisdom to abstain from war. It is a very observable circumstance in favour of James's government, that the only miseries complained of by the people during the time it lasted, were of a metaphysical kind. The non-conformist, for instance, found himself a little distressed, because he was obliged to yield a verbal obedience to the rules of a church he dissented from; the Parliament found reason to remonstrate against the theoretical maxims of arbitrary rule occasionally spouted to them by the King, and generally grumbled a good deal —as all Englishmen, be they rich or poor, *will* do, about taxes—when he addressed them for a subsidy; the Catholic population felt the weight

of the penal laws severely, though it is evident that James would have remitted them but for the prejudices of the country; the modes resorted to for raising money to the Court, were also, in many instances, violent and irregular. Yet, in spite of the complaints of Papist and Puritan, in spite of all the evils of monopolies, patents, purveyance, and forced loans—the result rather of long established system, than of the King's personal tyranny—the nation revelled, absolutely revelled, in all kinds of luxury and comfort, and was never, at any period of its history, before or since, more worthy of the epithet *Merry England*. One fact will speak volumes in favour of this assertion: it was in this reign that a taste for the *fine arts* first began to creep into the public mind. But, indeed, the absence of all complaints on the part of the common people, and the existence of all kinds of luxury among the upper ranks, are so evident on the face of the annals of this reign, that there is little need for any formal attempt to prove what has been stated. Perhaps the religious and political evils, which formed the only subject of complaint at the period, and which afterwards occasioned the civil war, only add to the general testimony in favour of their contentment as to temporal matters; for, in an industrious community, it is only after a man has placed himself at his ease in regard to the affairs of this world, that he becomes irritable on account of matters merely spiritual.

One fact seems abundantly certain—that James, with all his puerilities of character, and all his exalted notions of the royal prerogative, was nevertheless very much beloved by his people. This was testified in a very remarkable manner, on the

23d of March 1606, when a report arose in the city that he was assassinated at Okingham in Kent, while hunting, the instrument used being a poisoned knife, and the assassin a Papist. The effect of such a rumour on the public mind, excited as it had been by the recent plot, is described in very strong language by Arthur Wilson. 'The Court at Whitehall, the Parliament and City, took the alarm, mustering up their old fears, every man standing at gaze, as if some new prodigy had seized them. Such a terror had this late monstrous intended mischief imprinted in the hearts of the people, that they took fire from every little train of rumour, and were ready to grapple with their own destruction before it came. In the midst of this agony, there came assurance of the King's safety, which he was enforced to divulge by proclamation, to re-establish the people.' When James came to town next day, he was received by the inhabitants with transports of joy, and a welcome which might be termed enthusiastic. Quite touched by their expressions of affection, he told them, in his usual kindly manner, that a *better* king they might perhaps have got by his death, if it had taken place; but he was sure they never could have got one who loved them better, or had their interests more sincerely at heart.

The summer of 1606 was distinguished by an event of some importance in James's domestic life —a visit from his brother-in-law, Christiern IV., King of Denmark. Ever since the Queen had quitted her native country in 1589, she had seen none of her relations. It may therefore be supposed that, at this time, after having been seventeen years out of their sight, and when she had

become the mother of three children, and the queen of many realms, it must have been with no ordinary feelings that she received this visit from her brother. Christiern came in a huge and most magnificent ship, accompanied by some smaller ones, and cast anchor at Gravesend on the 16th of July. He is described as having been a young man, 'of goodly person, of stature in no extremes, in face so like his sister, that he who hath seen the one may paint in his fancy the other. He was appareled in black, cut out on cloth of silver; about his hat he wore a band of gold, wrought in form of a crown, and set with precious stones.' James was at Oatlands when he heard of his brother-in-law's arrival; but he lost no time in sailing down the river to meet and give him welcome. The meeting took place under circumstances of formality and grandeur suited to so august an occasion. Having dined in the cabin of Christiern's vessel, and spent a night on board, James accompanied him next day up the river to Greenwich, where the Queen lay at present, confined to her chamber, in slow recovery from a recent accouchment, or bewailing the misfortune of having lost her infant on the second day of its existence. It was remarked, as the vessel was proceeding, that the river had not before borne two sovereigns at once on its bosom, since Henry VIII. received the Emperor Charles V. James politely allowed precedence to the Danish king on all occasions, and kept him in general at his right hand, saying, when Christiern remonstrated against this deference, that he must be absolutely obeyed in his own country. The meeting of the royal brother and sister was of the tenderest kind. All

the evening of this day (Friday), and all the next, were spent in repose, and in feasting. On Sunday, they attended sermons and devotional exercises in the early part of the day, and feasted in the afternoon on a dinner, which, strange to say, was served up to the sound of drums, trumpets, and other music—'the which moved his Highness to much delight.' This day having been spent, as we are informed by a contemporary writer, 'in God's praises and their comfort,' they hunted on Monday in Greenwich Park; and in the afternoon, 'their High Estates,' says the same writer, 'went to Eltham, a house of his Majesty, some two miles distant from the court, where, in the park, they hunted with great leisure, and killed three bucks on horseback, being followed with many companies of people, which, in their love, came to see them.' Here a circumstance occurred, which seems highly probative of the good esteem in which James was held at this period. A great many of these people, says the simple chronicler of the Danish king's visit, * 'not used to follow such pleasures as hunting, especially on foot, thought not on their paines; but in the joy of their hearts (which no doubt was pleasing to them), they endeavoured, with all their power, to follow after their horses, as never wearied in so royall company, thinking themselves most happy (of many others) to behold so rare and excellent a sight, two kings and a prince; and surely, in the opinion of many, their royal persons might take great care to heare their continual cries to God for his blessing, and to preserve them,

* Nichols' Progresses, Part 6.

their states and dignities, from all mallice and traytors' practices for ever. The sun going neare his place of rest, their pleasures finished, and they returned themselves to the court, all the way pacing easily, that the people might better obtain their desires in beholding them.'

It is curious to observe, in the minute accounts given by contemporary writers of the visit of the King of Denmark, that, for curiosity in seeing sights of this kind, the citizens of London were nearly the same as in our day. The following description of the reception which they gave the two kings, on their progress from Greenwich to Theobald's, might almost be supposed a quotation from some recent number of the Mornin Post, regarding the advent of a potentate of our own time.

Thursday, July 24, 'the morning being faire, every man in his place gave his attendance. The barges waited for their Majesties, who, about 11 o'clock, came aboard them, accompanied with the prince (Henry), and were rowed to Blackwall, where their coaches with their train attended their coming, with such multitudes of people as were not to be numbered. At the landing of his Highness, the merchants' ships that anchored in the road then discharged such a peal of ordnance as gave great contentment to that royal company. Thence they set forwards the way that leadeth to Stratford, and so to Theobald's, twelve miles distant from London, a famous and most delightful house of the Right Honourable Earl of Salisbury, all the way met with great company of people, which saluted them and prayed for their happiness, but most especially until they came three or

four miles from London; all which way was so replenished with men and women of good sort, some on foot, some on horseback, and some in coaches, that there was hardly way left for their royal company to pass them; such is the love of this nation to the King and his lovers and friends; and in their love, their desires so great to behold their delights, that no paine whatever but they esteem as pleasure to enjoy it, especially to behold so honourable and heavenly a sight, two anoynted kings and so royal a prince, whom God in his great mercy evermore preserve and keep from all traitorous practices and other evils. Amen.'

But there was one circumstance in this progress, which could scarcely have happened in the present day. 'Before these royal persons came near the house of Theobald's, there was strewed in the highways abundance of leaves coloured green, cut like oaken leaves, on every one of which was written, in large Roman letters of gold, "WELCOME, WELCOME;" which being presented to their Majesties, they praised the device, and found their welcome to them and theirs as great as was spoken of.'

They were entertained for four days at Theobald's, in a style of extravagance which gives a strange view of the manners of the age; the intellectual pleasures arising from the hearing and seeing of Ben Jonson's classical devices, and from the survey of the splendid gardens and other decorative objects which surrounded the house in all directions, being mingled, it would appear, with sensual delights of the grossest nature, especially that of drinking to excess. Sir John Harrington,

in a letter written from the spot, has given a most picturesque and amusing account of the scene.

'MY GOOD FRIEND,

'In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came; and from the day he did come, till this hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those whom I could never get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. *The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to rolle about in intoxication.* In good sooth, the parliament did kindly to provide his Majesty so seasonably with money; for there have been no lacke of good living; shews, sights, and banquetings from morn to eve.

'One day, a great feast was held, and, after dinner, the representation of Solomon his temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba, was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But alas, as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the Queen's part, did carry most precious

gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majestie's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand, to make all clean. His Majesty then got up, and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down, and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen, which had been bestowed upon his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity. Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her brevity: Faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined to good works, and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the King's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his Majesty. She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were both sick and spewing in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and by a strange medley of versification, did endeavour to make suit to the King. But Victory did not triumph long; for, after much

lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the antichamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants; and, much contrary to her semblance, rudely made war with her branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

'I have much marvelled at those strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queen's days; of which I was sometime an humble presenter and assistant: but I never did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food. I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man to blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well masked; and indeed it be the only show of their modesty, to conceal their countenance. But alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobald's, and doth marvellously please both Kings, with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud), that the Danes have again conquered the Britons; for I see no man, or woman either, who can command herself.

I wish I was at home: "*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*" And I will before Prince Vaudemont cometh.'*

Whatever is reprehensible in this conduct, must be placed to the account of the King of Denmark alone, and not to that of King James; for the latter, although by no means a Mahometan in regard to wine, was not at all remarkable for this vice. The truth is, the humour of the Danish monarch in favour of deep potations, infected the court, and became, for the time, the reigning folly; James himself giving into it, with his usual good nature, although by principle abhorrent of habitual drunkenness. There is something classical in the bacchanalian propensities of the King of Denmark; Shakespeare is supposed to have been induced, by what he saw of them in England, to write the following well-known passage in Hamlet, and also to describe the usurper in that celebrated drama as a drunkard—

> 'This heavy-headed revel, east and west,
> Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations;
> They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
> Soil our addition; and indeed it takes
> From our achievements, though performed at height,
> The pith and marrow of one attribute.'

Some of the facts recorded regarding his intemperance, are calculated to astound the senses of men in this comparatively sober age. Howell, the letter-writer, tells us of a feast which his Majesty once gave to the English ambassadors at his own court, which lasted from eleven in the day till the evening, and during which he drank thirty-five healths in as many cups of good Rhenish; yet,

* Nugæ Antiquæ, Ed. 1804, i. 348, *et seq.*

though at last carried away in his chair, he was out at the hunting, next morning, by break of day. On one occasion, when greatly elevated by liquor, he told his servant to ask any gift to the value of half his kingdom, and it should be given him: the man, 'finding his master so beastly out of tune, demanded only a great pair of stags' horns; for which, in admiration of so moderate a request, the King bestowed on him three thousand dollars.' * While in England, by pure dint, it would appear, of that sway which a mind inspired by any violent enthusiasm always exercises, more or less, over those around it, he prevailed upon his soberer brother-in-law to enter into competition with him as a drinker; and they had frequent trials of strength in this inglorious warfare. At Theobald's, if we are to believe the somewhat questionable authority last quoted, his Britannic Majesty was carried off from table in the arms of his courtiers, and not without great difficulty deposited in bed. And to such an excess was the prevailing evil carried among the courtiers themselves, that, according to the same authority, one was found dead on the table after supper, the wine running out of his mouth.

On one of the evenings of the royal entertainment at Theobald's, this young Bacchanal had nearly fallen into mortal quarrel with the Earl of Nottingham, the famed conqueror of the *soi-disant* invincible armada. It had pleased this ancient nobleman, as already related, to marry, for his third wife, the youthful and blooming Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of that Earl of Murray so

* Payton's Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart

famed in Scotland for his good looks and his unfortunate end, and who was, of course, cousin to the King. The addled brains of the King of Denmark were tickled at the idea of an old man married to so young a wife; and, encouraged perhaps by the character of the Earl—for his Lordship was an arrant coxcomb—he could not help, in the course of their carousals, making certain allusions, which at once touched the honour of the wife, and offended the vanity of the husband. The wrath of the latter was appeased at the time, probably by the mediation of the King; but not so the indignation of the Countess. She, having learned what took place, lost no time in writing the following letter to the Danish ambassador; a composition worthy of herself and her ancestors.

'Sir—I am very sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the King your master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the King of Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer for myself; for, if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not urge the particular of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the King your master, as I did of my own prince; but I now persuade myself there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man: for, although he be a prince by birth, it seems not to me that he harbours any princely thought in his breast; for, either in prince or subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honour. I deserve as little that

name he gave me, as either the mother of himself or of his children; and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your master so wrongfully of me, I shall do my best for putting him from doing the like again to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So, leaving to trouble you any further, I rest, your friend,

'M. NOTTINGHAM.'

Who, on reading this letter, doth not imagine that he hears in it the voice of the blood of Murray?

The visit of the King of Denmark was extended above three weeks, in an almost uninterrupted series of grand entertainments, one of which was afforded by the city of London. On Sunday the 10th of August, James and the Queen, together with the Prince of Wales, conducted their guest to Rochester, where they dined on board one of the Danish vessels. It would seem that his Majesty of Denmark had one other extravagant taste, besides what is above specified—one for hearing discharges of cannon. Being conducted on Sunday afternoon to a wind-mill hill near Upnor, he was there regaled with one thousand and eight peals of shot from the vessels lying in the river; 'which made such musicke in his ears,' says a letter of the day, 'that he told the King, if he had spent half his kingdom in a banquet, he could not have contented him so well; and further, that, in requital, he gave himself and his heart to do the King, so long as he lived, all friendly offices both in word and deed.' If the King of Denmark was rendered thus sentimental by cannon-shot, he of Great Britain was rendered equally polite by

his brother-in-law's professions. He answered, that 'never any man was so welcome to him as the King of Denmark, nor ever should any—till he came again.'

Next day, the royal party dined on board the Admiral, or principal ship of the King of Denmark, a vessel of prodigious size, and great splendour of decoration; its galleries, for instance, being all gilded. Besides the royal family, only fifty persons were present, and those of the first distinction. Here again his Danish Majesty's taste for shot was gratified abundantly; for 'at every health there were, from the ships of Denmark and the forts, some three or four score great shot discharged; and of these thundering vollies there were between forty and fifty. You would have thought,' says this quaint old writer, 'that Jupiter had been of the party. About four in the afternoon, the King of Denmark presented to the King of Great Britain a beautiful and well-contrived fire-work,' * * * which, 'very methodically, continued burning and cracking for the space of three quarters of an hour. Which being consumed, the Kings, with tears in their eyes, took their leave.'

The visit of this northern monarch affords a dreadful instance of the profusion, or rather, it may be called, the utter disregard of the proper uses of money, which, at this period of his life, began to characterize King James. It is credibly affirmed that he spent, on this month's debauch, in entertaining a personage who was not politically of the least account to him, the greater part of a subsidy lately granted to him by Parliament, to the amount of four hundred and fifty-three thou-

sand pounds, which he had obtained for the professed purpose of oiling the wheels of government, and for which, perhaps, he had bartered to the donors, some of the most valued privileges of his crown. A sword, alone, which he presented to King Christiern at parting, cost seventeen thousand pounds! On the other hand, it must be allowed that all this was in conformity with the spirit and customs of the age. The Danish King was almost equally profuse with himself. He bestowed thirty thousand dollars on the servants of his brother-in-law's court; fifteen thousand on those below stairs; ten thousand to the officers above stairs; and the remaining five thousand to the equerry, or stabler. To every person of the King's and Queen's bed-chambers, he gave jewels of value. On the Queen herself he bestowed his picture richly set with precious stones. To Prince Henry he gave his second-best ship, which, with all her furniture, was not worth less than twenty-five thousand pounds; with a rapier, besides, worth two thousand marks. He also distributed a great deal of money amongst the sailors. This was, indeed, the peculiar age, when the absurd customs of systematic present-giving, and of vails to servants, were at their height—when bribes could be offered to judges under the accredited semblance of gifts, and the King himself reckoned upon the new-year donations bestowed upon him by his courtiers, as a considerable and indispensable part of his revenue.

For some years subsequent to this period, we find James engaged in a ceaseless round of amusements—in hunting, in making solemn progresses through the country, in witnessing the perform-

ance of Ben Jonson's masques, and in attending the feasts of the city of London. The flowery joys of this part of life were not, however, without some disturbance: the machinations of the Catholic seminarists, who were still active in the country, formed a sort of girdle of spikes, to annoy his flesh beneath all his external splendours. We find, with some surprise, that he could not venture to dine with the Lord Mayor of London, in the Clothworkers' Hall, without previously sending officers to ascertain that no Popish plot lurked in the cellars below. He was also obliged, occasionally, to relax the penal laws against this unhappy body of Christians, purely that he might enjoy the sports of the field without the fear of being assassinated.

Soon after the detection of the Gunpowder Treason, he had framed, what was then for the first time known in the country, an oath of allegiance, to be tendered to all classes of his subjects, so that he might distinguish those who were willing to pay him obedience as their temporal prince, from such of the Catholics as believed him to be deposed by the dictum of the Pope. The measure was attended with complete success in the first instance; for most of the Catholic population accepted the oath, including Blackwell their High Priest, and it met with no resistance but from the Jesuits and other machinators. The Pope, however, soon after directed a couple of brieves to his English adherents, earnestly calling upon them to suffer all pains rather than sacrament their souls to damnation by complying with a heretic King. James then published an anonymous defence of the oath, to which Cardinal Bellarmine and others wrote replies; and, presently, a tremendous controversy

took place between the King of Great Britain and the chief defenders of the Catholic faith abroad. He afterwards extended his work considerably, acknowledged it as his own, and, prefacing it with what he called 'a premonition to all Christian Princes,' sent a copy, splendidly bound, to be presented by his various ambassadors to each of the sovereign states. As might have been expected, Spain, Venice, and other states under the control of the Pope, were obliged to mortify the royal author by refusing to accept this present—however earnestly it advocated their independence of the Roman Pontiff.

It would appear that James was now beginning to feel the advance of age, and to take less delight than formerly in violent exercise. 'The King,' says a court letter of date November 29, 1607, 'is indifferently well pleased with his hunting; and, which is as great news as ease, is not so earnest, without all intermission or respect of weather, be it hot or cold, dry or moist, to go to his hunting and haulking as he was; for though he be as earnest, being at it, as he was, yet is he more apt to take hold of a let; and a reasonable wind will blow him to, and keep him at mawe all day.' He thus seems to have felt, at forty-one, the indifference towards out-of-doors amusements, which a modern poet has placed at a somewhat latter period of life—

'And blessed the shower which gave me not to choose.'*

In April, 1608, a great revolution was wrought in his cabinet by the death of the Earl of Dorset, who had been Lord Treasurer since a late period in

* Crabbe—*Tales of the Hall.*

the reign of Elizabeth, and the accession of the Earl of Salisbury to the vacant place. To the latter personage—whom, partly on account of his being a small crook-necked man, and partly for his acuteness of scent in ascertaining all kinds of plots both at home and aboad, James entitled his *Beagle*—we soon after find his Majesty writing the following amusing and most characteristic letter from Bletsoe, the seat of Lord St John, where he was upon a progress. The date is August 5th, the anniversary of the Gowry Conspiracy.

'My littill beagill; Ye and your fellowis thaire are so proud, now that ye have gottin the gyding againe of a feminine courte in the olde fashion, as I know not how to deal with you; ye sitte at youre ease and directis all; the newis from all pairtis of the worlde comes to you in youre chamber; the Kingis resolution dependis upon your posting dispatches; and quhen ye list ye can (sitting on your bedde-sydes), with one call or quhisling in youre fist, make him to poste nichte and daye, till he come to youre presence. Well, I know Suffoke is maried, and hath also his handis full now in harbouring that great littill proude man that comes in his chaire; but for your pairt, master 10, † quho is wanton and wyfeles, I cannot but be jealous of your greatnes with my wyfe; but most of all ame I suspicious of 3, quho is so laitelie fallen in acquaintance with my wyfe, for besydes that the verrie number of 3 is well lyked of by weomen, his face is so amiabill as it is able to intyse, and his fortune hath ever bene to be great with she-saintis; but his part is foule in this,

† The figures indicate words not deciphered.

that, never having taken a wyfe to himself in his youth, he can not now be content with his gray haires to forbeare ane other mannis wyfe. But, for expiation of this sinne, I hoape that ye have all three, with the rest of youre societie, taken this daye ane eucharistike cuppe of thankefulnes for the occasion quhiche fell out at a time quhen ye durst not avou me. And heir hath beene this daye kept the Feast of King James's deliverie at *Saint Johnstone*, in *Saint John's house*. All other maitters I referre to the old knave the bearer's reporte. And so faire you well.

'JAMES, R.'

During the year 1610, James experienced a great deal of annoyance from a parliament, which he called in February, for the purpose of placing his revenue on some settled plan. The necessity under which the Kings of England have always lain, of begging subsidies from the House of Commons, is perhaps the chief reason why the French of the last age believed *Le Roi d'Angleterre* to be the same as *Le Roi d'Enfer*; and there can be no doubt that, while this has been the main pull whereby the people of England have wrought out their liberties from the hands of the monarch, it has also given the monarch, on many occasions, too good reason to resort to violent measures against the subjects, for the purpose of keeping himself upon the throne, and sustaining his dignity in a style worthy of the nation. The case of King *versus* Parliament, in the time of King James, was simply this: The King felt it necessary to assemble a parliament, for the purpose of imposing lawful taxes; the parliament, when assembled

would only give subsidies, on condition that the King should resign in their favour a proportionate part of his prerogative. Then, the King, being sensible that he could not conduct the government with less power than he had, refused to make the proposed bargain, dissolved the parliament, and was obliged, for his subsistence, to sell away the crown lands, to impose fines on recusants in religion, and, by his bare proclamation, inflict the levying of what were called *benevolences* on his subjects; all which measures, of course, tended to render him unpopular, and to pave the way for the civil war.

Inspired, as we are persuaded, by the best of motives, he attempted, in the present parliament, to barter a great number of the more odious of his privileges, for a settled income of L.200,000 a year, which he believed would have the effect of settling the limits of the respective powers of king and parliament on just grounds. The Earl of Salisbury stated the proposal to the House of Commons, to whom he at the same time communicated the agreeable intelligence, that, since his accession to the Treasury, two years before, he had paid off L.900,000 out of L.1,300,000 of debt, which he then found against his Majesty, part of which had been incurred during the reign of Elizabeth. The two great powers of the nation then began to adjust their bargain; the Commons bringing up all possible grievances (some of them quite fantastic) for redress, and endeavouring all they could to cheapen down the King from the sum he had demanded; while he, on the other hand, stood stiffly out in favour of some of the privileges which they attempted to lop off from

his crown, and adhered pertinaciously to the round sum which they wished to reduce. On their proposing to give him nine score thousand pounds, he told them ‘ in pleasant language, ’—for his good humour scarcely ever forsook him—that he had a great dislike to that sum, ‘ as referring to the number of the Muses, whose followers were always beggars; eleven score thousand he would best have effected, that being the number of the apostles (Judas being left out); yet, as a medium, he was contented with ten score, that being the number of God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification.’ Hume observes, that this pleasant conceit was, for its goodness, the best paid wit that ever was in the world; for it actually moved the Commons to vote L.200,000, as the revenue to be settled on the crown. It was not, however, till after many months of violent contention with their sovereign, that they came to this agreement. The following extract from a letter written by him to his Privy Council, on the 7th of December, * will show that he at last completely lost his temper in the dispute, and formed the wish of managing his government without their assistance, through the agency of his council.

‘ * * * We would have wished that our councillors and servants, in the Lower House, had taken more heed to any speech that concerned my honour, than to keep to the refusal of a subsidie; for such bold and villanous speeches ought ever to be crushed in the cradle! And as for the feare they had, that that might have moved more bit-

* From Hinchinbrook, the seat of his loyal friend Sir Oliver Cromwell, where he was upon a progress.

terness in the House, not only against themselves, but also to have made the House descend into some further complaints, to our great disliking; we must to that point say thus farre, that we could not but have wondered greatly what more unjust complaint they could have found out, than they have already, since we are sure that no house but the *House of Hell* could have found so many as they have already done! But as for my part, we should never have cared what they complained against us, so that lies and counterfaite inventions be barred. Only we are sorry of our ill fortune in this countrye, that having lived so long as we did, in the kingdom where we were borne, we came out with an unstained reputation, without any grudge in the people's hearts, but for wanting of us. Wherein we have misbehaved here we know not, nor we can never yet learn; but sure we are, we may say with Bellarmine in his book, that in all the Lower Houses these seven years past, especially these two last sessions, *ego pungor, ego carpor*. Our fame and actions have been tossed like tennis-balls among them, and all that spite and malice durst do to disgrace and infame us, hath been used. To be short, this Lower House, by their behaviour, have perilled and annoyed our health, wounded our reputation, emboldened all ill-natured people, encroached upon many of our privileges, and plagued our purse with their delays! It only resteth now, that you labour all you can to do that you thinke best to the repairing of our estate.' * * *

It must have certainly been at this period of his reign, that James threatened to send a horse, which would not obey him, to the five hundred

kings who sat in the Lower House of Parliament —telling the animal that *they* would be sure to bring down his pride, and curb his unruliness. Such spurts as these, however, were merely things of a moment; and, whatever was the real annoyance which the monarch experienced from the collision of his *principles* with the *conduct* of the House of Commons, he was too good-natured to cherish any permanent enmities against them. He could always revenge himself by a joke; and that was, to him, revenge enough.

CHAPTER VI.

KING JAMES IN MIDDLE LIFE.—ANECDOTES.

It may now be proper to devote a chapter to such personal notices and anecdotes of the King, as are chiefly applicable to this period of his life, and cannot well be introduced elsewhere.

To begin at the beginning.—The countenance of the King is described, by a foreigner, * as being, at this period of his life, ‘ of a fair and florid complexion, and lineaments very noble to behold.’ His carriage was still undignified, on account of the weakness of his limbs; and, in walking into a room, he was still under the necessity of shambling along the walls for support, or leaning on the shoulders of his courtiers. The increased fulness of his beard, and a certain degree of corpulence, had now filled up the outline of a face and figure which originally appeared somewhat meagre and shabby; so that, upon the whole, he looked a great deal better now than in youth;—a fact proved by the series of his portraits. Wilson, who

* Cardinal Bentivoglio.—See Aiken’s Court of King James, ii. 331.

saw him at this period of his life, and was by no means disposed to flatter him, says, that 'in the whole man he was not uncomely.'—'He was of a middle stature,' says Sir Anthony Weldon, 'more corpulent through his clothes than in his body;' for, to defend himself against the daggers of the Papists, which threatened him all his life, he caused his doublets to be 'quilted for stiletto proofe,' and his nether garments to be fashioned in great plaits and full stuffed. His hair, according to Weldon, was of a light brown till towards the end of his life, when it became tinged with white. Sir Theodore Mayerne, his physician, has recorded, with professional minuteness, 'that his head was strong, and never affected by the sea, by drinking wine, or riding in a chariot; that in moist weather, and in winter, he had usually a cough; that his skin was soft and delicate, but irritable, and, when he vomited, it was with such an effort, that his face would be sprinkled with red spots for a day or two; that he never ate bread, always fed on roast meat, and seldom or never ate of boiled, unless it was beef; that he was very clumsy in riding and hunting, and frequently met with accidents; that he slept ill, waked often in the night, and called his chamberlains, nor could sleep be again readily induced, unless some one read to him; that he was passionate, but that his warmth quickly subsided; that he had naturally a good appetite, and a moderately fair digestion; that he was very often thirsty, drank frequently, and mixed his liquors, being very promiscuous in the use of wines, though generally preferring those which are called sweet.'

By Weldon we are informed, that James 'was very temperate in his diet, and not intemperate in

his drinking. It is true,' says this writer, 'he drank very often; but it was rather from a custom than any delight; and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as frontiniack, canary, high-country wine, tent wine, and Scottish ale; so that, had he not been of a very strong brain, he might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom at any one time drank above four spoonfuls, many times not above one or two.'—'The King,' says another writer (Roger Coke *) 'was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking, not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with these wines, and to that purpose he was attended by a special officer, who was, as much as he could be, always at hand to fill the King's cup in his hunting when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that, being hunting with the King, after the King had drunk of the wine, he also drank of it; and, though he was young, and of a healthful disposition, it so disordered his head, that it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three days after. Whether it were drinking these wines, or from some other cause, the King became so lazy and unwieldy, that he was treist [trussed] on horseback, and as he was set so he would ride, without poising himself in the saddle; nay, when his hat was set on his head, he would not take the pains to alter it, but it sate as it was put on.'

Other particulars, as minutely personal, are given by various writers. He never washed himself—

* Detection of the Court and State of England.

not even his hands, probably from that irritability of skin mentioned by Mayerne: only, to avoid utter uncleanliness, he used to rub the ends of his fingers in a wet napkin. His eyes, which were large, he was in the habit of rolling about, in a strange manner, especially after any stranger had entered the room; the result, probably, of his constant fear of assassination. Many persons, as we are informed by Weldon, were unable to endure the scrutiny of his eye, and left the room, 'as being out of countenance.' The largeness of his tongue, or rather perhaps the narrowness of his jaws, which caused him to drink in an unseemly manner, imbibing the liquor as if he had been eating it, is a fact already alluded to. It is one of the most curious contradictions in his character, full as it is of all kinds of cross-lights, like the manor-houses of his time, that, though delighting in fine dresses worn by others, he used to wear very plain clothes himself, and often retained them till they fell to rags. Above all, although fond of seeing new fashions of clothes upon his courtiers, he disliked having the fashion of his own attire changed. Weldon tells us, that, a person bringing him one day a hat of a new Spanish block, he cast it from him, swearing he neither loved them nor their fashions. Another person, on another occasion, bringing him roses for his shoes, he asked, 'if they would make him a ruffe-footed dove,' and contented himself with a sixpenny ribbon. So constant, indeed, was he in all minor matters of this kind—in diet, in exercise, and dress, that a courtier was wont to say, 'if he were asleep some years, and then awakened, he could tell where the King had been every day, what dishes

he had had at table, and what clothes he had worn.'

It is a circumstance by no means inconsistent with James's general character, that he had a great number of *antipathies*. The three chief were, swine's flesh, ling, and tobacco. He is reported to have once said, that, if he were to invite the devil to dinner, he would give him a pig, a pole of ling with mustard, and a pipe of tobacco for digestion. * It is very remarkable, that no mention is made in any contemporary work, of the antipathy most notoriously ascribed to him by tradition—that which he cherished against the sight of a drawn sword. It is, indeed, clear that he never carried a sword himself (though no fashion of the age was more indispensable in a gentleman), and that, when about to confer the honour of knighthood, he alwaya borrowed the necessary weapon from a bystander. We can also remember having once seen an anecdote—though not in an authentic work—that he was so unable to handle a sword from excessive nervousness, as to have once run it into the eye, instead of laying it on the shoulder, of a candidate for equestrian honours. But still, as such a peculiarity of constitution is nowhere mentioned in a work of the day, and as an instance of his actually using a sword has already been related in this work, from a credible source, † it must be held as at least uncertain. Its improbability is very strongly indicated by its not appearing in an extensive and minute catalogue of

* Witty Apophthegms delivered by King James, 12mo, 1671.

† Volume i. p. 202.

the monarch's dislikes, which Ben Jonson has given in his Masque of the Gypsies Metamorphosed, an entertainment produced in the King's own presence at Burley Castle, the seat of the Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham, in 1621.

As that catalogue is exceedingly curious—a perfect nosology, indeed, of nervous weaknesses—and as it is highly illustrative of James's character, it is here introduced.

CLOD. * Let us bless the sovereign and his senses.
PATRICO. We'll take them in order, as they have being.
And first of Seeing.

From a Gypsy in the morning,
Or a pair of squint eyes turning;
From the goblin, and the spectre;
From a woman true to no man,
Which is ugly besides common;
A smock rampant, and the itches
To be putting on the breeches— †
Wheresoe'er they have their being,
Chorus. Bless the sovereign and his SEEING.

* This Masque was performed at Burley Castle, August 1621, as part of the entertainments given to the King by Buckingham, whose house it was. James was particularly well pleased with his entertainments here, and 'could not forbear expressing his contentment, in certain verses he made to this effect, that "the air and the weather, and every thing else, even the stags and bucks in their fall, seemed to smile; so that there was hopes of a smiling boy within a while;" to which end, he concluded with a wish or *votum* for the felicity and fruitfulness of that blessed couple.'—*Chamberlain's Letters.*

† An allusion to ladies who govern their husbands. James's horror for such persons is often perceptible throughout his life.

PATRICO. From a fool and serious toys,
From a lawyer three parts noise,
From impertinence, like a drum
Beat at dinner in his room,
From a tongue without a file,
Heaps of phrases and no style,
From a fiddle out of tune,
As the cuckoo is in June, *
From the candlesticks of Lothbury, †
And the loud pure wives of Banbury, ‡
Or a long pretended fit
Meant for mirth, but is not it,
Only time and ears out-wearing—
Chorus. Bless the sovereign and his HEARING.
PATRICO. From a strolling tinker's sheet,
Or a pair of carriers' feet,
From the diet and the knowledge
Of the students in Bears'-College, §
From tobacco, with the type
Of the devil's glyster-pipe,
Or a stink, all stinks excelling,

* The dissonant note of the cuckoo in this month is alluded to by Shakspeare:

'So when he had occasion to be seen,
He was but as the *cuckoo is in June*,
Heard, not regarded.'

† Lothbury, a street in London where brass candlesticks were made; the noise of which manufacture was very discordant.

‡ Banbury was a great stronghold of Puritanism. 'Banbury zeal, cheese, and cakes,' is a proverb mentioned by Fuller in his Worthies.

§ A jocular term for the Bear garden. The author has explained his meaning in a passage of another poem.

'The meat-boat of Bear's College, Paris garden,
Stunk not so ill.'

From a fishmonger's stale dwelling—
Chorus. Bless the sovereign and his SMELLING.
PATRICO. From an oyster and fried fish,
A sow's baby in a dish,
From any portion of the swine,
From bad venison and worse wine,
Ling, what cook soe'er it broil,
Though with mustard sauced and oil,
Or what else would keep men fasting—
Chorus. Bless the sovereign and his TASTING.
PATRICO. Both from bird-lime and from pitch,
From a doxey and her itch,
From the bristles of a hog,
Or the ring-worm in a dog,
From the courtship of a briar,
Or St Anthony's old fire,
From a needle, or a thorn
In the bed at e'en or morn,
Or from any gout's least grutching—
Chorus. Bless the sovereign and his TOUCHING.
PATRICO. Bless him too from all offences,
In his sports, as in his senses;
From a boy to cross his way,
From a fall, or a foul day. *
* * * * *

In speech, James was much and justly admired, notwithstanding that his voice was a little thickened by the peculiarity of his organs, and further rendered disagreeable to English ears by its Scotch accent, which, as we are informed by Fuller, he

* A foul day naturally happened frequently; nor did the King, it is recorded, always bear it patiently. A fall from his horse was also by no means an unfrequent occurrence, as already mentioned.—NICHOLS.

rather affected than declined. ‘ The masculine worth of his set orations,’ says this writer, ‘ commanded reverence, if not admiration, in all judicious hearers.’ After one of his speeches in the House of Peers, Bacon, whose duty it partly was, as Lord Keeper, to eke out the King’s meaning with something of his own, rose, and could only say, “ Ne post divinum et immortale factum, aliquid mortale faceret.” It was, however, in what is called table-talk, that James most excelled. ‘ He was very witty,’ says Weldon, ‘ and had as many ready witty jests as any man living, at which he would not smile himself, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner.’ Nor was James’s wit, as many suppose, mere punning or quibbling on language. He possessed that property of mind, which constitutes at once poetry and wit—the power of readily discerning the resemblances of remote ideas, and of bringing the one to contrast with and illustrate the other. In graver conversation, he was perhaps even superior to what he was in light talk. He loved speculative discourse upon moral and political subjects; and his talent for conducting such discussions is a frequent theme of admiration, not only among his courtiers, but in the unsuborned writings of the foreigners who visited him.

One unfortunate fault greatly deformed the conversation of King James—his notorious habit of profane swearing. ‘ Nay, he would not only *swear*,’ says a quaint writer of the day, ‘ but he would *curse*;’ and, as we are informed by Weldon, he would even go ‘ one strain higher, verging on blasphemy.’ Of course, it was only when excited by some extraordinary feeling, that he ut-

tered language of this reprehensible nature; and he had himself the grace, in his calmer moments, 'to say, that he hoped God would not impute these expressions to him as sins, seeing they proceeded from passion.' * It was also, in a great measure, a fault common to the age. Yet, after every allowance, we fear he must be held as greatly and unusually tainted by this vice; for it seems to have been sufficiently notorious to be the subject of talk in foreign countries. Lord Herbert of Cherbury informs us, † that the Prince of Condé, in conversation one day, allowed that the King was gifted with much learning, knowledge, and clemency; but he (the Prince) had heard that his Majesty was *much given to cursing*. Herbert's apology was good enough for a joke, but not good enough, we fear, for an excuse. 'I answered, that it was out of his gentleness. The Prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness, I replied, "Yes; for, though he could punish men himself, yet he leaves them to God to punish;" which defence of the King, my master, was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.' Perhaps something should be allowed to a circumstance mentioned by Fuller: 'In common speaking, as in hunting, he stood not in the clearest but nearest way. He would never go about to make expressions.' ‡

* Weldon.

† Memoirs, *prope finem*.

‡ King James once went out of his way to hear a noted preacher. The clergyman, seeing the King enter, left his text, to declaim against swearing. At the conclusion of the discourse, James thanked him for his sermon, but asked him what connexion swearing had with the text. "Why," answered the divine, "since your Majesty came

Swearing is the vice of a hasty mind. It is also found oftenest in what is called a *hearty* character, and least frequently in men of cold temperament, and artificial manners.

The wit of King James has received nearly the highest commendation from a late writer,* who makes the remark, that, 'in some of his facetious sallies, as when he said to the shabby candidate for knighthood, who knelt down with a too-evident sense of his own unworthiness, "Look up, man! I have more reason to be ashamed than thou," even Charles the Second could not have outdone his grandfather.' As another of the like sort, may be instanced what he said to a fellow-countryman who complained, soon after he came to his southern kingdom, that the English called the Scots by the epithet of beggarly: "Wait a little, man," said the King, "and I will soon make them as beggarly as the Scots!" In general, however, the humour of James's sayings arises rather from the grotesque and fantastic moulds in which he cast his thoughts, than from what is now called pointed wit. It is somewhat surprising to find Bacon, in his Apophthegms, recording that, 'as James was a prince of great judgment, so was he also a prince

out of your way, I thought I could not do less than go out of mine to meet you."—*Bennet's Treasury of Wit*, ii. 163.

In a MS. written by Robert Traill, minister of London, it is stated, in reference to the earlier part of James's life, that he stood much under awe of the celebrated Welch, the preacher; and when he happened to be swearing in a public place, would turn round, and ask if Welch was near. The King might do so, by way of a joke; it is ridiculous to suppose that he did it from fear.

* Quarterly Review, XLI. 74.

of a marvellously pleasant humour,' and then instancing, as proof, that, as the King was going through Lusen, near Greenwich, he asked what town it was, and was answered Lusen; asking, some time after, "What town is this we are now in?" and being told it was still Lusen, he said, "I will be King of Lusen!" Such a saying as this is not wit; it is only an expression which tickles the mind of a hearer, from its being characteristic of a man whose character is amusing; it is wit by association on the part of the hearer. Of the same nature is a jest recorded by Mr Phineas Pett, the King's ship-builder. Pett having been accused, by some malignant persons, of producing insufficient work, his Majesty condescended to preside over an examination of such of the wooden walls of Old England as this person had had any thing to do with. Part of the wood was said to be cross-grained; but, being tried, and found perfectly good, "Why," said the King, "the cross-grain, methinks, is in Pett's accusers, not in his work."

Walton, in his Life of Dr Donne, relates a delightful anecdote of James. Dr Donne was so fond of London, on account of its having been the scene of his birth and education, and from the delight he experienced in the society of an old-established circle of friends, that he refused a number of country benefices that were offered to him. At last, the Deanery of St Paul's falling vacant, James found an opportunity of giving him his heart's content. Having ordered the Doctor to attend at dinner, 'When his Majesty had sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said, *after his pleasant manner*: "Dr Donne, I have invited you to din-

ner, and, though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for, knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of St Paul's; and, when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do to you!" "

In other of his sayings, if not wit, there is evidence of a mind alive to observation, and capable of using it. Of this sort is the apophthegm which he made use of, in recommending a country life to his gentry, in preference to dwelling at London: "Gentlemen," such is said to have been his address, "at London you are like ships at sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ships in a river, which show like great things." The illustration here is excellent. There was something better still in the saying he uttered, in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, where, on a visit in 1606, he took his degree as Doctor in all faculties. Remarking the little chains with which all the books were bound to their shelves, he said, "I would wish, if ever it be my lot to be carried captive, to be shut up in this prison, to be bound with these chains, and to spend my life with those fellow-captives which stand here chained!" Here we find the native propensity of the monarch, which was to learning, not to sovereignty, breaking resistlessly through the artificial character he wore, and affording us a delightful peep into the inner recesses of the man. The saying looks like a Pythagorean recollection of a former state; as if he had all at once forgot that he was now a King, and, as the Samian sage remembered having been a soldier in the Trojan war, suddenly

awakened to the idea that he had formerly been a doctor of divinity, accustomed, in dim college libraries, to bend daily over solemn folios, deeply ribbed in the back, and breathing the dust of ages from every moth-worm pore.

In a curious collection of jests, printed in the year 1640, and to which the name of Archy Armstrong * is prefixed as a decoy, there occurs an anecdote which shows that James was not uniformly accessible to the flattery of his courtiers. Two gentlemen, noted for agility, trying to outjump each other in his presence, he said to the individual who jumped farthest, "And is this your best? Why, man, when I was a young man, I would have out-leaped this myself." An old practised courtier, who stood by, thought this a good opportunity of ingratiating himself with his master, and struck in with, "That you would, Sir; I have seen your Majesty leap much further myself." '"O' my soul!" quoth the King, as his usual phrase was, "thou lyest; I *would*, indeed, have leapt much farther, but I never *could* leap so far by two or three feet."'

This anecdote naturally suggests a few remarks upon what was a very disagreeable feature of the age, the custom of plying the King, and indeed all men of station, with gross flattery. Just in pro-

* 'King James, about to knight a Scottish gentleman, asked his name, who made answer, his name was Edward Rudry Hudrinblas Tripplin Hipplas. "How, how?" quoth the King. Replies the gentleman as before, "Edward Rudry Hudrinblas Tripplin Hipplas." The King, not able to retain in memory such a long, and withal so confusedly heaped up name, "Prithee," said he, "rise up, and call thyself, Sir, what thou wilt;" and so dismissed him.'—*Banquet of Jests*, 1640.

portion, it would appear, as there has been a party in England who depreciated and opposed the King, so has there always been one which endeavoured to exalt him by this base expedient. In James's time, when a democratic party was beginning to be formed, there also arose this detestable habit among the courtiers; as if it could have been hoped that humble expressions, used towards the sovereign by his friends, were to infect his enemies with the same reverence for him. When historians sum up James's character, they never allow any thing for the effect which the inordinate flatteries of the people were calculated to have upon the mind of the monarch; nor consider how much of his disposition to arbitrary rule might be owing to their profession of a willingness to be ruled arbitrarily. Yet it is evident that, though he might occasionally resist the impressions thus attempted to be made upon him, he must have been, upon the whole, spoilt not a little by appliances so repeatedly presented, and which appealed so strongly to his self-love. It is unpleasant to observe how much of this mischief is to be charged upon literary men, and especially the poets; whose flatteries, as more public, must of course have been most hurtful. What expression of contempt, for instance, could be appropriate to the epithet bestowed by the Earl of Stirling on the King?—'God of Poets, and king of men!' How mortifying is it to find the pure and classic genius of Jonson bent to the composition of the following 'epigram,' as it is called—

'How, best of Kings, dost thou a sceptre bear!
How, best of poets, dost thou the laurel wear

But two things rare the Fates had in their store,
And gave thee both, to show they had no more.
For such a poet, while thy days were green,
Thou wert, as chief of them are said t' have been.
And such a prince thou art, we daily see,
As chief of those still promise they will be.
Whom should my muse then fly to but the best
Of Kings for grace—of poets, for my text?'

The dependent circumstances of such persons may perhaps be admitted as a slight palliation of their offences; for, at this period, and for a long time after, literary men were *kept* by the magnates of the land, very much upon the same principle as that by which the Irish and Highland chieftains of the same age retained their sennachies. But what palliation shall be presented for the adulation of the court sermons? which generally fulfilled James's idea of his divine right, by actually making him a part of religion, and bestowing upon him a share of that worship which they gave to the Supreme Being.

Something remains to be explained in regard to the religion of King James, which, as already inferred, was that of the Church of England. James was perhaps too much of a theologian to be a devotee. He partook more of Le Sorbonne than of La Trappe. He was deeply read in scripture; could quote its texts with great facility; knew it even with philological exactness; accomplishments which enabled him to be of great service, it is allowed, in superintending the translation which was executed at his command. It cannot be clearly discerned, however, that he was what would now be considered a pious, or even a *serious* man. His

colloquial language, besides its censurable admixture of rude oaths, was essentially tinged with a certain degree of irreverence; and his personal behaviour was of the same cast. In church, for instance, he could never conduct himself decently. During the whole time of the sermon, he was ever and anon directing ordinary discourse to his courtiers; sometimes even laughing outright at their sallies or his own. Wilson tells us that, whenever any preacher of uncommon piety held forth before him, Bishop Neale of Lincoln busied himself, with laudable ingenuity, to divert his attention from the discourse, by telling him '*merrie tales;*' at which the King, says Wilson, 'would laugh, and tell those near him that he could not hear the preacher for the old satyr bishop!' In his secret mind, nevertheless, James perhaps cherished a good deal of pure devotional sentiment. Both at the time when his life was despaired of in 1619, and when upon his real deathbed in 1625, his conduct was every thing that could be expected of a good Christian.

With regard to the forms of religion, James was a zealous advocate of those styled Episcopalian, as well as for that mode of church-government. He detested the Puritans, for their mean bald character, and perpetual nibbling at the established church. The Catholics he regarded with aversion and fear, as the subjects of an alien power, and because they sported a doctrine that heretic princes forfeited their titles. He has himself given an account of his sentiments on all these subjects, in rebutting a charge which Cardinal Bellarmine had brought against him, to the effect that he was an apostate. Some parts of the passage are worth

quoting, for various reasons. ‘ How can I be an apostate,’ says he, ‘ not onely having ever been brought up in that religion which I presently profess, but even my father and grandfather on that side * professing the same? As for the Queen my mother, of worthy memorie; although she continued in that religion wherein she was nourished, yet was she so far from being superstitious or jesuited therein, that at my baptisme (although I was baptised by a Popish Archbishop) she sent him worde to forbeare to use the spettle in my baptisme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthy and apish tricke, rather in scorn than imitation of Christ. And her own very words were, “ *That she would not have a pockie priest to spit in her child's mouth.*” As also the Font wherein I was christened, was sent from the late Queen here of famous memory, who was my god-mother; and what her religion was, Pius V. was not ignorant. And for further proof, that that renowned Queen my mother was not superstitious; in all her letters, whereof I received many, she never made mention of religion, nor laboured to persuade me in it; so at her last words, she commanded her Master-household, a Scottish gentleman, my servant, and yet alive, to tell me, “ That, although she was of another religion than that wherein I was brought up, yet she would not press me to change, except my own conscience forced me to it; for so that I led a good life, and were careful to do justice and govern well, she doubted not but I would be in a good case with the profession of my own religion.” † . . . . I believe in

* Lord Darnley, and his father Matthew Earl of Lennox.

† Works, p. 301.—These anecdotes of Queen Mary are

the three creeds; that of the Apostles, that of the Council of Nice, and that of Athanasius. . . . . I reverence and admit the four first general councils as Catholique and orthodoxe. . . . . As for the blessed Virgin Mary, I yield her that which the angel Gabriel pronounced of her, and which, in her canticle, she prophesied of herself—that she is blessed amongst women, and that all generations shall call her blessed. I reverence her as the mother of Christ; but I dare not mock her, and blaspheme against God, by praying her to command and controule her sonne, who is her God and her Saviour. Nor yet do I think that she hath no other thing to doe in heaven, than to hear every idle man's suite, and busy herself in their errands; whiles requesting, whiles commanding her sonne; whiles coming down to kisse and love with priests, and whiles brawling and disputing with devils.' But perhaps enough has been said, to show the faith and practice of the royal theologue.

James's character is described in lively, and, upon the whole, correct colours, in the same masque of Ben Jonson which has been already quoted for his antipathies. A captain of gypsies comes forward, pitches upon his Majesty in the crowd of spectators, and, inspecting his hand, thus addresses him:—

'Bless my masters, the old and the young,
From the gall of the heart and the stroke of the tongue!
With you, lucky bird, I begin, let me see;
I aim at the best, and I trow you are he.
There's some luck already, if I understand
The grounds of mine art; here's a gentleman's hand.

very *recherché*, and say a great deal for her liberal and amiable disposition.

I'll kiss it for luck-sake: you shall, by this line,
Love a horse and a hound, but no part of a swine.
To hunt the brave stag, not so much for your food,
As the weal of your body, and the health o' your blood.
You're a man of good means, and have territories store
Both by sea and land; and were born, Sir, to more,
Which you, like a lord, and the prince of your peace,
Content with your havings, despise to increase.
You live chaste and single, and have buried your wife, ‡
And mean not to marry, by the line of your life.
Whence he that conjectures your quality, learns,
You're an honest good man, and take care of your bairns.
Your Mercurie's hill, too, a wit doth betoken,
Some book-craft you have, and are pretty well spoken.
But, stay, in your Jupiter's mount, what's here?
A king, a monarch! what wonders appear!
High, bountiful, just; a Jove for your parts,
A master of men, and that reign in their hearts.'

One passage in this address deserves to be commented on;

'You are an honest good man, and take care of your bairns;'

which, as it does not yield the praise that is apt to enter into a set panegyric, but seems to be a plain unvarnished account of what James really was, must be held as saying a great deal in favour of the homely worth, and good domestic character, of the King. James has often been stigmatised as a bad husband and father. It has even been insinuated against him, that he was instrumental in the death of his eldest son, from jealousy of his rising popularity. We learn, on the contrary, from Sir Theodore Mayerne, his physician, that

‡ This was written two years after Queen Anne's death.

his health was considerably affected by grief for the deaths of Prince Henry and Queen Anne. That he was sincerely attached to his consort, and regarded her womanly foibles with that gentleness of construction which marks the truly good husband, is, we think, pretty well evidenced by the letter which he wrote to her in consequence of the fracas about Prince Henry before she left Scotland. It is further proved by a delightful anecdote, which is thus recorded in a private letter, of date July 1613:—'At their last being at Theobald's, the Queen, shooting a deer, mistook her mark, and killed Jewel, the King's most special and favourite hound, at which he stormed exceedingly a while; but, after he knew who did it, he was soon pacified, and, with much kindness, wished her not to be troubled with it, for he should love her never the worse; and the next day sent her a diamond worth two thousand pounds, as a legacy from his dead dog.* Love and kindness increase daily between them; and it is thought they were never on better terms.'†

* However good-naturedly the King forgave this accident, he appears to have long remembered it. In 1621, when Archbishop Abbot, by an unfortunate accident, killed the keeper of a park in hunting, and sent to inform the King, his Majesty returned this gracious answer:—'That such an accident might befall any man; himself had once the ill-luck to kill the keeper's horse under him; his Queen in like sort killed him the best broche he ever had; he therefore willed the Archbishop not to discomfort himself.' Perhaps no man but James would have attempted to comfort a man for killing a fellow-creature, by bringing up similar instances of horse and dog-slaughter.

† Letter from Mr Chamberlain—Winwood's Memorials. —'Queen Anne,' says the writer in the Quarterly Review just quoted, 'though by no means faultless in tem-

Perhaps, after the exertions lately made by a distinguished literary antiquary, ‡ to prove the happiness of James's domestic relations, it is almost superfluous to bring forward further evidence. Yet I cannot help quoting two letters from the Queen to the King, written in a style of easy familiar humour, and which bear strongly upon the fact. The originals are in the Advocates' Library.

'SIR—Your letter was welcome to me. I have bin as glad of the faire weather as yourself. The last parte of your letter—yow have guessed right that I wold laugh. Who wold not laugh, both at the persons and the subject, but more so at so well a chosen Mercurie betweane Mars and Venus? Yow knowe that women can hardly keepe counsell. I humbly desire your M. to tell me how it is possible that I should keepe this secret that have alreadie tolde it, and shall tell it to as manie

per, or eminent in understanding, appears to have had qualities which attracted general regard; and the people watched her last illness with an affectionate concern. In the early part of the reign, her supposed disposition to interfere in politics excited a jealousy far greater, apparently, than circumstances really warranted. In the secret correspondence maintained by Cecil with James before the death of Elizabeth, Anne is mentioned with anxiety, as liable, from facility of disposition, to be acted upon by sinister influences. But the evil never became very formidable. Her manners were extremely popular. Coke, in his Detection, boldly panegyrises her piety, prudence, temperance, and chastity. Even Weldon confesses that she was a very brave Queen; and Osborne, while he censures her uncovered shoulders, yet condescends to observe, that her skin was "amiable," and her disposition "*debonnair.*"'—*Quarterly Review*, xli. 77.

‡ Mr D'Israeli.

as I speake with. If I were a poete, I wold make a song of it, and sing it to the tune of "Three fooles well mett." So kissing your hands, I rest, yours,

'ANNA, R.'

'My Heart—I desyre your Majestie to pardon that I have not answered your Majestie sooner upon your letters, because I would know the truth of the park of Oatlands, as I understand there is neere forty grossi beastiani of divirs kindes, that devours my deere, as I will tell your Majestie at meeting. Whereas your Majestie wolde have me to meete you at Withall, I am content, but I fear some inconveniens in my leggs, which I have not felt hier. So kissin your Majestie's hands, I rest, yours,

'ANNA, R.'

With regard to James's character as a father, it seems, so far as he was permitted by his duties to indulge in intercourse with his children, to have been equally good. His eldest son Henry, from an early period, lived in a house of his own, and followed pursuits different from those in which the King was engaged; the younger children were placed out at board in the houses of different persons. He therefore saw little of them. Every now and then, however, he seems to have sent them letters and presents, to testify his affection towards them; to which they were as constantly returning him answers, couched in the same endearing terms. A great number of the letters of these interesting children are preserved, and, when read in proper chronological series, serve to show the progress of their minds from the merest infancy, when they began their correspondence, up to the

years of early manhood. Some are written in Latin, some in French, and some in English; for in all those languages were both Henry and Charles accomplished at a wonderfully early age. To assure us against the suspicion of their receiving assistance from their preceptors, we find James earnestly commanding them to write from their own minds. *

The Latin letters are always addressed 'Amantissime pater,' and the whole correspondence affords the strongest evidence both of the fatherly care and the fatherly affection of James towards his offspring. It is at the same time, as Mr D'Israeli remarks, a strong presumption in favour of the worth and intellect of the King, that his children were all so well educated, and turned out so much superior to the generality of young men; for, whatever Henry might have been, and whatever Charles turned out to be, in other respects, both of them were by no means ordinary in native or acquired power of mind.

But, indeed, James seems to have been a kind of enthusiast about domestic happiness, and the concord of families, in general; and it was, perhaps, just in these familiar matters that his character was most unexceptionably amiable. The great delight which he took in match-making, his

* The following is one of the earliest letters of the boy, afterwards Charles I.

'Sweete, sweete father; I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my best man. Your loving son, YORK.

Superscribed, 'To my father, the King.'*

* From the original in the Balfour Collections, Advocates' Library.

frequent presiding over weddings and christenings,* and even his political fancy of being a kind of general father to his whole people, are all traits of a spirit alive to the relations of domestic life. Startling as the assertion may appear, we are also convinced, that his fondness for the society of young men, which displayed itself so violently in his successive attachments to Car and Villiers, and which has never been rationally explained any other way, was owing in a great measure to this peculiarity of his mind; though perhaps, in an inferior degree, to the repose which their puerile conversation af-

* On the 25th of June 1618, the King visited Halsted in Kent, where a little child of the name of Pope, granddaughter of his host, was presented to him, holding in her hand the following paper of verses:

‘ Sir, this my little mistris here,
Did neere ascend to Peter's chaire
Nor anye triple crown did weare,
And yet she is a Pope.

Noe benefice she ever solde,
Nor pardon e'er dispenst for gold;
She scarcely is a quarter olde,
And yet she is a Pope.

Noe king her feete did ever kiss,
Nor had worse look from her than this;
Nor doth she hope,
To saint men with a rope,
And yet she is a Pope.

A female Pope you'll say, a second Joane,
But sure this is Pope Innocent, or none!’

When we find the king engaged in little amiable frolics of this kind, we are apt to question that his character was obscured by any shade of cruelty or churlishness, such as is sometimes ascribed to it.

forded to his thoughts after study, or 'to a certain spark of boyish wildness, which hung about him to the end of his life, and often broke forth strangely from amidst his graver qualities.' * That he really did possess a heart capable of paternal feeling in this extreme degree, is amply proved by his interference in a very extraordinary case, which occurred in 1607; where the Earl of Lincoln pretended to take offence at his son's marriage, and cast him off, for the mean purpose of sparing his maintenance. The son being in the King's service, we find his Majesty writing the following letter to the father.

'James Rex: Right trusty and well-beloved cosen, it seems strang to us to be forced to write to a father for a sonne: but when parents will breake thos bondes of nature, and leave that care of thars that they ought to have, we that are common parents to all must putt those affections upon us; which shall serve to discharge us in our places, and teach them the duty of thayrs. Your sonne and my servant, Sir Henry Fynes, as I am given credibly to understand, reseaves dayle hard measure from you, both in that you keep from him a great part of his present mantenance; and also make spoyle of such wods as he, with his own mony, hath purchased from others; and detain such evidences from him of land given to his mother for a joyntar, and after to himself in reversion; and, as if all this was not enofe, you wage lawe with him, as if he were not your sonne, but some adversary to be utterly undon by you. We ar so sensible of the duty of a child to a father, as we would not give any respecte to

* Quarterly Review, xli. 74.

an undutifull child against his natural father; but since your sonne hath given you no juste cause of offence, lett me tell you, if you will forgett you are his father, I will remember that I am his master, and will neither see nor suffer you unjustly to oppress him; and doe therefore charge you, either to show me just cause why you thus deale with him, or else command you to right him in these and such like wrongs as ar made known to us; whitch if you shall not doe, we will take that corce that in our regall justis we thinke fitt. And so we commit you to God.' * It is delightful to find power exerted, even in this arbitrary manner, in favour of the oppressed.

Perhaps it should be adduced, as another proof of James's disposition to venerate the decencies of private life, that he discountenanced every attempt at libertinism, both in his court and in literature, constantly studying, by the blameless purity of his own life, to exemplify to his subjects the conduct which he wished them to follow.

After so much has been said to vindicate James from the contempt in which his character has been held, it may naturally be asked, how a man of so much ability and worth has come to be so much depreciated. The answer is a very simple one: James's intellect, though originally of the best order, was imperfectly organized. He did not possess a mind of a certain degree of power, and good of its degree. It was a very great mind, partially crazed and enfeebled—a giant, as it were, born in the seventh month. Of his character, or physical constitution, nearly the same thing may be said.

* From Fynes' own Memoirs, *apud* Brydges' Peerage.

It was a character suited to the lofty proportions of the mind accompanying it, but, in the same degree, imperfectly organized. It was a character 'not uncomely,' but with knock-knees. Thus, the best efforts of his mind, whether in his character of king, or author, had ever a taint of puerility, which caused the admiration of the public to be lost in laughter or contempt. Thus, also, almost every minor action of life, however meritorious, was rendered, to a certain extent, unworthy or foolish, by the meanness of style in which he executed it. The writers of his own day tell us, in their quaint way, that his reason would have been of a high-towering and masterful sort, but for the choler and fear which alloyed it;* for he was controlled in the most extensive political schemes by the terror of assassination, and never permitted his regal duty to stand in the way of his humour. This is the same idea in other words. Hence arise the charges brought against him, that he was a pedant in literature, and a dissembler in kingship. He was a cunning, because a timid man,† and pedantic, because his mind, with all its good

* It is amusing to observe his own unconciousness of this part of his character. He tells us in one of his works, that his *dicton* or allegorical epithet, when in Scotland, was '*the Lyon*, as expressing *fortitude!*' I have shown some reasons, however, for doubting the popular theory of his antipathy to the sight of cold iron. And it is certain that, at various periods of his life, he displayed considerable nerve in facing danger. His leading armies against Bothwell and the Catholic Lords; his conduct when the former traitor met him in his closet; his presence of mind under the dagger of Alexander Ruthven; are all good instances.

† See Wilson's in particular, 289.

qualities, could not resist the occasional intrusion of grotesque ideas. To these causes, also, we may trace his high theoretical notion of his own dignity and prerogative, and the humble line of action upon which he was always, at the same time, proceeding—his assurance that he was a kind of inferior deity, and his inability all the while to act the part of an ordinary man. And thus was he, altogether, a bundle of contradictions and paradoxes; the most extraordinary specimen of human nature, perhaps, presented in his time. It really was not without some reason that Sully termed him 'the wisest fool in Christendom.'

But perhaps the best solution, after all, of the puzzle in James's reputation, is, that his merits are of a kind which do not make great impression upon mankind; while his faults, though in reality trivial, are those which men least easily pardon. We are but too apt, in the perversity of our nature, to excuse the faults of men as weaknesses, and to condemn their weaknesses as faults.

CHAPTER VI.

RISE OF CAR, THE FAVOURITE.—QUARRELS OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.—DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.

1610—1613.

It is supposed to have been during the year 1608, that James first adopted into his favour Robert Car, afterwards Earl of Somerset. Car was the third son of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, chieftain of a sept of one of the best families on the Scottish Border, and who had been a faithful friend to the King when in Scotland. He was thus, whatever the English pamphleteers have said of him, a youth of good birth. When a boy, he became one of twelve pages who waited upon the King towards the close of his Scottish reign; a situation then, and for many years after, deemed, even where a peer was to be served instead of a king, advantageous for the education and fortune of a gentleman. When James removed to England, he changed his pages for footmen, that he might make his personal attendance resemble that of Elizabeth; and Car went to France in quest of other employment. Returning afterwards, when grown to manhood, he condescended to appear as

squire to a Scottish nobleman, at a court tilting-match; when, being employed to present his principal's ensign to the King, his horse happened to rear, and threw him, with a broken leg, at James's feet. The good-natured King, interested in the misfortune, and also in the good looks of the squire, thought proper to get him deposited in the palace, and afterwards visited him in his confinement. This gave him an opportunity of ascertaining that Car had formerly been in his own service, and also to observe the handsome features and gentle innocent demeanour of the youth; all which causes combined, caused him to conceive a fondness for him, of that anomalous kind which has already been alluded to. During the progress of Car's convalescence, James applied himself to the task of cultivating his mind; acting personally, it would appear, as his instructor in the Latin tongue! When once fully ingratiated with the King, it required only a moderate share of tact to preserve his favour. Car, though possessed of nothing like talent, had at least enough of penetration to observe the King's foibles; having also enough of servility to accommodate himself to them, he might be considered as fully accomplished for his situation. Knowing that James liked to see men well dressed, and in new fashions, he took care to appear every day in attire at once novel and beautiful. In every particular as to person, he studied the royal taste. Above all things, he took care never to appear disgusted by the unseemly fondling which James was in the habit of bestowing upon all whom he loved. But the royal foibles through which this favourite rose, and other peculiarities of the King's character, are so spiritedly

and amusingly delineated in a private letter of the time, that we cannot resist the temptation of presenting it to the reader, instead of any further observations of our own. It is addressed to Sir John Harrington of Kelston, the witty gentleman whose observations have been already so often quoted in this work, and who, some years before, had had an interview with James, the circumstances of which are noted below. *

* 'It behoveth me now to recite my journal, respecting my gracious command of my sovereign to come to his closet. When I came to the presence chamber, and had gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the prince, I was ordered by a special messenger—that is, an secret sort—to wait a while in an outward chamber, whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room, where was good order of paper, ink, and pens, put on a board for the prince's use. Soon upon this, the prince his highness did enter, and in much good humour asked, If I was cousin to Lord Harrington of Exton? I humbly replied, His Majesty did me some honour in inquiring my kin to one whom he had so late honoured and made a baron; and, moreover, did add, We were both branches of the same tree. Then he inquired much of learning, and showed me his own in such sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and uttered profound sentences of Aristotle, and such like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand; but this I must pass by. The prince did now press my reading to him a canto in Ariosto; praised my utterance, and said he had been of many as to my learning, in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether the king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom? His majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft; and ask

'My good and trusty knight; If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for court, whenever it suiteth your own conveniency. The King hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse with the "merry blade," as he hath oft called you since you was here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you to-

ed me, with much gravity, why the devil did work more with ancient women than with others? * * His Majesty, moreover, was pleased to say much, and favouredly, of my good report for mirth and good conceit; to which I did courtly answer, as not willing a subject should be wiser than his prince, nor even appear so.

'More serious discourse did ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometimes room to escape; for the queen his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His highness told me, her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, he said, spoken of in secret, by those whose power of sight [*second sight*] presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air. He then did remark much on this gift, and said he had sought out of certain books a sure way to attain knowledge of future chances. Hereat he named many books, which I did not know, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors, which would lead me to evil consultations. I told his Majesty the fear of Satan, I much feared, damaged my bodily frame; but I had not further will to court his friendship for my soul's hurt. We next discoursed somewhat on religion, when at length he said, "Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sort, and I have pried into yours. I pray you, do me justice in your report, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment." I made curtsey hereat, and withdrew down the passage, and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around. I did not forget to tell that his majesty asked much my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said it would, by its use, infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden.'—*Park's Nugæ Antiquæ.*

wards well gaining our prince's good affection: he doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which he can furnish you out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in clothes—I pray you give heed hereunto. Strange devices oft come into man's conceit; some regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towards outward things, clothes, deportment, and good countenance. I would wish you to be well trimmed; get a new jerkin well bordered, and not too short; the King saith he liketh a flowing garment; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversely coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffened and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits for want of the observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Car is now most likely to win the prince's affection, and doth it wondrously in a little time. The prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, and, while he looketh at Car, directeth his speech to divers others. This young man doth much study all art and device; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Car before you go to the King, as he was with him when a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse

you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not, of yourself, say, "This is good or bad;" but, "If it were your Majesty's good opinion, I myself should think so and so." Ask no more questions than what may serve to know the prince's thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any man's temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I advise one thing—the roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; and the good furniture above all, which lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the roan; delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to court the next day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the King's pleasure touching the petition. When the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, "Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups?" Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the noble saw him in the court-yard; but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good knight, our noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but Silence and Discretion should be linked together, like dog and bitch, for of them is gendered Security—I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queen's days. These things

are no more the same. Your Queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well; our King talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, as long as it holds good. Car hath all favours, as I told you before; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too; for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth court much his presence; the ladies are not behind hand in their admiration; for I tell you, good knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; tho', God wot, he well knoweth when to show his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely; and yet will you come to court, and think to be well-favoured! Why, I say again, good knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the things men live by now-a-days. Will you say the moon shineth all this summer? That the stars are bright jewels fit for Car's ears? That the roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be ridden by Alexander? That his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenice's locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the King's presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse, than of the King's roan jennet. We are almost worn out in

our endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty, and labour to gain favour, but all in vain. Where it endeth I cannot guess; but honours are talked of speedily for him. I trust this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the Court: I know you do it rarely at home. So adieu, my good Knight, and I will always write me your truly loving old friend,

'T. HOWARD.'

It is no more than justice to James, to remind the reader, that this letter gives a burlesque, and therefore a somewhat untrue, account of the rise of Car. Some of the circumstances which appear most ridiculous, can, to a certain extent, be explained away. For instance, the fact of James condescending to become the tutor of his favourite, though apparently indicating only the meanness of his taste, proceeded, in reality, from a wish which he entertained to fashion and inform a good mind, hitherto uncultivated, to his own pleasure, that it might serve afterwards, both for agreeable companionship, and for a medium between him and his people; for James was one of those sovereigns who think it necessary to retain a person near them, to bring them all the gossip of the day, learn for them among the people the general feeling in regard to the course of government, and procure them information about the capabilities of men suing for places about the court. In this point of view, James, by patronising Car, only did, in his own eccentric way, what the most of kings have done; and the only fault he can be

charged with is, his having given the minion a place beside his throne, instead of keeping him behind a curtain. He had also this respectable, and, it may be, valid, reason for preferring a man such as Car, without great connections, to any scion of the nobility, that, in case of the necessity of dismissing him, his fall could not excite the resentment of a party.

The rise of the favourite was not so rapid as is generally represented. He was fully in possession of the King's favour in February 1609; during which year James gave him a grant of the forfeited estate of Sir Walter Raleigh, replying to all the remonstrances of that person's friends, 'I maun hae the land—I maun hae't for Car.' But it was not till upwards of two years after, namely, in March 1611, that he conferred upon his favourite the title of Viscount Rochester. Neither can the King be said to have bestowed money upon him with needless or extraordinary profusion. The first *free gift* we find to have been given to him, was one of 500*l*., in the early part of the year 1611; the second, one of 5000*l*., towards the end of the same year; and a third of 15,000*l*. appears in the roll for 1612; but after that there is no other. Car's chief emoluments arose from sums which were given to him by applicants for the royal favour; and by that oblique method, he is said to have raised a great deal of money. It should be told, however, in his favour, that, on a particular occasion, when the managers of the royal Exchequer were driven almost to desperation for want of supplies, Car gave them the key of his strong box, and told them to take from it what

they pleased. It was found to contain twenty-five thousand pounds, all of which they took.

An amusing anecdote is related by those writers who represent the King as having been too beneficent to his favourite. He had once, according to those authorities, given Car a precept upon the Treasury for the round sum of twenty thousand pounds; which the bearer, of course, lost no time in presenting to the Earl of Salisbury. Cecil, who always suspected, it is said, that the King still calculated sums according to the Scottish, and not the Sterling mode, paused before executing an order which, at that crisis, was almost sufficient to beggar the Exchequer. For the purpose of making his master aware of the *real* amount of the sum he had accorded to the favourite, he invited his Majesty to dine at his house, and took care to lay down, in a gallery through which the King had to pass, a glittering heap of gold, containing only a fractional part of the amount. James stood in amazement at the sight; for the truth is, he was comparatively unacquainted with money in its tangible shape; and he hastily inquired of the Treasurer to whom it belonged. 'Please your Majesty,' said Cecil, 'it was yours this morning before you gave it away.' The King then 'fell into a passion, protesting he was abused, never intending any such gift; and, casting himself upon the heap, scrabbled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and swore he should have no more.'* But the minister, continues the same authority, was too much afraid of the growing power of the favourite, to diminish the sum more than one half.

* Osborne.

One of James's besetting sins, was a want of firmness in condemning great criminals. But, in 1612, he performed an act of justice, which Bacon, in consideration of the title of the culprit, did not scruple to praise as one of the most remarkable in the history of any age or country. A young Scotch nobleman, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, had the misfortune, some years before, to lose an eye, in a trial of skill, with one Turner, a fencing-master. It is said, that he had no thought of revenging what was a mere accident on the part of Turner, until, at Paris, Henry IV., understanding he had lost his eye in a rencontre, asked him emphatically, 'If the man yet lived who had done him such an injury?' This question Lord Sanquhar unfortunately understood as a hint that his honour could not subsist with the life of Turner; and accordingly, he had the poor man shot in his own school, seven years after the offence for which he took so bloody a revenge. James caused him, as well as the servants who had done the deed, to be apprehended; and as, in addition to all abstract ideas of justice, the English were at that time inflamed to a great degree against the Scotch, for various instances of unruly behaviour, he ordered the whole, on sentence being pronounced against them, to be executed. It was a circumstance worth relating, that, though Lord Sanquhar had been divorced from his wife only three or four days before his apprehension, she no sooner learned his unfortunate circumstances, and understood that he wished to see her, than, with that love which scarcely any thing can destroy in woman's breast after it has been once implanted, she came

to offer him her consolations in his prison. * At his execution, his firm, yet composed demeanour, with the high character he had enjoyed for courage, talents, and accomplishments, greatly moved the compassion of the spectators; which, however, abated, when they saw that he died a Roman Catholic.

The collisions of the Scotch and English alluded to, and to which this nobleman in part fell a sacrifice, occasioned at this time no small sensation; more especially as they all happened within a short space of time. A Scot of the name of Murray, with the assistance of his men, killed a sergeant who arrested him at Ludgate for a debt; for which, 'more to satisfy the sheriffs of London than justice,' (if we are to believe the satirist Osborne,) the servants were hanged. What proved a more inflammatory instance—Maxwell, the King's confidential servant, thought proper, one court day, to lead Mr Hawley, a member of Gray's Inn, out of the presence-chamber, by a black ribbon, which, according to the fashion then prevalent, the lawyer wore at his ear. For this insult, which the whole of the benchers in London took to themselves, Hawley was urged to demand satisfaction; and Maxwell was informed, that, if he refused to fight, the man he had injured would kill him, whenever he met with an opportunity. It cost the pacific King, and also Lord Bacon, no small pains to get this matter accommodated, by a proper apology on the part of Maxwell. While the public mind was in full excitation from these circumstances, a Scottish gentleman of the name of Ramsay re-

* See Nichols.

sented some insult which he conceived the Earl of Montgomery had offered to him, by smiting that nobleman across the face with his switch. This occurred on the race-ground of Croydon-field, where great numbers of both countries were present; and the English immediately rose in a tumultuous fashion, threatening to make general cause with their countryman against the Scotch. The picturesque feature of the scene which ensued, was, according to Osborne, Mr 'John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two of his fingers, riding about with his dagger in his hand, crying, "Let us break our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London!"' Montgomery, however, tamely submitted to the affront; and the English became quiet, without shedding any blood. Yet such was the alarm which this riot communicated to the Scotch at London, that it is said three hundred were counted, in one day, going through Ware, on the road to their native country. Perhaps the King's predilection for Car, a native of Scotland, tended to aggravate this bitter feeling, on the part of the English, towards the adventurers of that nation; and it is not impossible that his Majesty might be the more willing to sacrifice Sanquhar, to whom he is suspected of having borne personal antipathy, that his death tended to soften the rancour with which his favourite was regarded.

The close of the year 1612 was distinguished by an event, which added to the natural gloom of November all the sadness which can darken the public mind under the infliction of a great national calamity. On the 6th of this month, Prince Henry died of a popular sickness or fever, when he had

nearly completed his nineteenth year, and procured the reputation of possessing almost every manly virtue. Talent, accomplishment in learning and in bodily exercises, vigorous character, public spirit, purity of life and conversation, are among the qualities ascribed to this distinguished prince, whose short life has proved sufficient to supply materials for one of the most pleasing volumes, of an antiquarian character, in the language. * The King was so poignantly afflicted by the death of his son, that he adopted the affecting, though characteristically eccentric resolution, of neither wearing mourning himself, nor permitting any one to approach him in sable attire, in order to spare himself the pain of having the idea of his son's loss repeatedly awakened in his mind. † The people at large mourned the loss of so promising a prince, with the deepest feelings of regret; and it is said to have been long after customary, to console those who lost the eldest hopes of their families, by reminding them that even the good Prince Henry had died, when equally endeared to his parents and the nation.

For some years before the Prince's death, James, naturally anxious about the marriage of his chil-

* Dr Birch's Life of Prince Henry.

† It has been already mentioned, that the King had an illness, from grief, in consequence of the death of Prince Henry. That the Queen was equally afflicted by this family calamity, is proved by a touching circumstance—that she could not present herself at the creation of her second son Charles as Prince of Wales, in 1616, lest the sight should renew her grief for the death of her first son, who had undergone the same ceremony, in the same splendid style, only a short time before his death.—*Chamberlain's Letters, Winwood's Memorials.*

dren, had entertained treaties with Spain and France, for young princesses of those courts to be united to his sons; and an arrangement had been completed for the union of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Frederick was in England at the time of the Prince's demise; and it was found necessary, in order to permit his return to his dominions, and to save expense, to have his nuptials performed little more than three months after that melancholy event. The marriage took place on the 13th of February; and the youthful couple soon after left England. This marriage was most unfortunate, so far as the parties themselves were concerned; for Frederick, by imprudently accepting the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he was called by a body of insurgents in that country, became involved in an unequal war with his superior the Emperor of Germany, and lost not only the sovereignty, to which he had no title, but also his paternal dominions. James has been greatly blamed for not interfering with an active force to protect his son-in-law, whose cause was endeared to all the Protestant part of Christendom; but it is difficult, in candour, to see the propriety of his involving his dominions in war, to prevent the proper effects of a piece of imprudence on the part of a mere relation of his own. It is time that the merits of historical personages should be estimated without a regard to the form of faith in behalf of which they acted. This union, however, has been esteemed fortunate for the country of the Princess; since it was through her daughter, Sophia, that Britain derived the line of sovereigns, who, for a century past, have filled the throne.

The British annals are stained, at this period, with the infamous story of the favourite Rochester and the Countess of Essex. The former person, who, up to this period, had steadily advanced in the favour of his master, now received great promotion from the death of the Earl of Salisbury, whom he was appointed to succeed as Secretary of State. He was also by no means unbeloved by the people; for his manners were hitherto of a winning and gentle description, and he was as yet unpolluted by any great vices. Criminal love, to which the best natures are sometimes found equally subject with the worst, was destined to be the ruin of Rochester.

One of the principal figurantes in the court of Queen Anne, was Frances, Countess of Essex, a young noblewoman of the most exquisite beauty, but, as it afterwards appeared, the nearest thing possible to what is called a fiend in human shape. She was daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, and grand-daughter to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, whose connexion with the history of Mary has given so tender an interest to all of his name. When only thirteen years of age —too young to consider, as a historian of the day expresses it, but old enough to consent—she had been married, for reasons of mere policy, to Robert, second Earl of Essex, a nobleman but one year older than herself, the son and heir of the celebrated favourite of Elizabeth. Ben Jonson exerted his matchless genius to grace this union with a masque; and, at the time it took place, no prospect could appear fairer than that which extended over the future life of this interesting young pair. What fair scene, however, may not be

blighted by vice, or even by indiscretion? As it was thought proper that the Earl and Countess should not live together till a certain age, the former went abroad to complete his education, and the lady remained at home to grace the court of the Queen. Before the Earl's return, she conceived at once a passion for the person of the Viscount Rochester, and an ambitious wish to become connected with his rising fortunes. Inspired by both feelings, but chiefly by the latter—for she naturally loved to shine high in a court *—she determined, by whatever means, to shake herself free of a husband who proposed to bury her in the country, and marry the man who could secure to her the most glittering place in the court. The force of this passion will be better understood, when the reader is reminded of the efforts made by James to cause noblemen, not connected essentially with the court, to live at their country seats; a fashion which, as may be easily supposed, bore peculiarly hard upon the female part of the peerage. On the return of Essex, therefore, she began a series of machinations of the most atrocious description, with conjurors and other nefarious persons; by which she hoped to establish a cause of divorce from the Earl.

Almost from the beginning of his career as a favourite, Rochester had retained about his person, a gentleman of the name of Overbury, who, being accomplished and ambitious, but destitute of patronage, was glad to serve in the capacity of adviser and secretary to the minion, and supply him,

* We have become convinced, from a careful perusal of a number of documents, that this, and not mere love, was the ruling passion of the Countess.

as it were, at second-hand, with the talent he wanted, for the sake of acquiring a footing at court. This person, concerned for his own interest, which depended upon that of Rochester, was shocked to observe the unlawful passion with which Lady Essex soon succeeded in inspiring his patron; and he made every effort in his power to rescue him from her blandishments, and convince him of the fatal effect they were calculated to have upon his fortunes. But Rochester was too deeply involved in the meshes which the Countess had spread for him, to be accessible to this warning; blinded by a passion which knew no discretion, he was even so imprudent as to denounce his friend to her, as one who endeavoured to obstruct their loves.

It was now attempted to move the King, to favour a project of nullifying the premature marriage of the Earl and Countess. By the assistance of the Earl of Northampton, grand-uncle to the lady, and a most confidential minister, Rochester succeeded in convincing the easy monarch, that such an arrangement would be alike gratifying to all parties concerned; and James lost no time in ordering the Bishops to take the necessary steps. A more abominable, more unjustifiable case, never, perhaps, came before that venerable body. Yet, such was the influence of the court, that little difficulty was experienced in carrying it through; Abbot, the puritanical Archbishop of Canterbury, being almost the only judge who expressed any reluctance. The whole proceedings were of a nature too horrible to be touched upon, even in the slightest manner, in a publication of the nineteenth century; but they may be found related in the

prints of the time, with a minuteness, which communicates a most painful impression of the inelegance of public taste during the reign of James.

Before this was effected, Rochester had so far given way to the vindictive feelings of his paramour, as to excite the King's resentment against Overbury, and cause him to be thrown into the Tower. Not content with that revenge, which did not ensure the guilty pair against the danger which was to be dreaded from his disclosing any of their secrets, they conspired to have him cut off by poison. For this purpose, they changed the Lieutenant of the Tower for one of their own creatures, and appointed a number of infamous wretches to attend in subordinate capacities upon their victim, and causing the unhappy man to be denied intercourse with every other person. When things were in proper train, they proceeded to administer to him all kinds of slow poisons, and other appliances calculated to leave no external mark upon the body: his food, his linen, almost the air which he breathed, were tainted with these horrid stuffs; even his salt, as we are told by Wilson, being mingled with white mercury. For several months, nature resisted every effort with more or less success; and the unfortunate prisoner, though almost borne to the earth with the horrors of his situation, and with the pain he suffered, continued to mock the wretched pair with continued life. But they at length became tired of feeble applications, and caused an effectual dose to be administered to him. His body, ulcerated to a degree which made it horrible to be looked on, was then thrown in a loose sheet into a coffin, and hastily buried in the

Tower, to prevent the public, if possible, from raising any rumours about the mystery of his death. It is dreadful to think that, besides the two lovers, who had at least the imperfect excuse of an overpowering passion for this act, the Earl of Northampton, a cool aged statesman, with no other cause for antipathy to Overbury than a sympathy with his kinswoman, or a wish to her exaltation, was also concerned in it. When we find persons in this rank guilty of such crimes, we are tempted to characterize the age when they occurred as being one of extraordinary vice; but we should bear in mind, that the generality of the public, instead of assenting to the commission of such barbarities, visited them, when they came to light, with the loudest reprobation.

The death of Overbury took place on the 15th of September, 1613; and, on the 26th of the subsequent December, Rochester and his mistress performed their nuptials under circumstances of splendour, and apparent felicity, beyond all parallel; the city of London vying with the King and his court, which should contribute most effectually to flatter the lovers with their sympathy and applause. That the Countess might experience no declension of title by her new alliance, James created her husband Earl of Somerset; the title by which he is best remembered in history. It is recorded of her, as a notable instance of impudence, that at her marriage she appeared with her hair hanging loose over a white dress; by which device, as it was usually displayed by women married for the first time, she thought to out-brazen or confound the popular rumours.

CHAPTER VII.

DUELLING—STORY OF THE LADY ARABELLA—FALL OF SOMERSET.

1613—1616.

If James's reign was undistinguished by foreign war, it was not without the evil, probably a natural consequence of such a state of things, an extraordinary propensity to private contentions. Sir Richard Steele remarked, in the reign of Queen Anne, one hundred years after the period under review, that he never saw the young men wear such long swords, or assume such a swaggering air, as for some years after the peace of Utrecht. Just so it was in the reign of the peaceful James, when the streets of the metropolis were infested, by day and night, with gallants calling themselves Roaring Boys, Boneventors, Bravadoes, Quartors, and such epithets; who, being always in the way of provoking quarrels, and never going without weapons, were perpetually falling into bloody rencounters, often of fatal termination; for which James's feeble government could provide neither remedy nor punishment.* It was remarked, that

* Narrative History of the First Fourteen Years of King James, *ad initium.*

these collisions were now the oftener fatal, that the native weapons of broadsword and buckler, used in the reign of Elizabeth, were exchanged by the pretty fellows of this more giddy-paced age, for the comparatively mischievous rapier, which had recently been imported from France.

This unfortunate disposition of the age was not exemplified by street brawls alone; nor was it confined to the mere youth of the metropolis. Fomented by that ridiculously nice system of honour which Touchstone hits off so neatly, it displayed itself in a number of set duels, which generally ended with an amount of bloodshed, fearfully disproportioned to the original cause of quarrel. It would almost appear that the King's subjects had conspired to atone, in the eyes of foreign nations, for the timorous character of their sovereign; or, as others might interpret it, that they were so much disgusted with his pusillanimity, as to fly, for their own satisfaction, to the extreme of the opposite fault. Thus, we find Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when in attendance on a French embassy, rush into mortal quarrel with a gentleman of that nation, for refusing to restore a top-knot which he had plucked in sport from the head-dress of a young lady: afterwards, he challenged the governor of a continental town, for some slight incivility in the way of his duty, and expressed great regret when the dignitary pleaded exemption from the *duellium* on account of his office. In another part of the self-written memoirs of the same person, we find him rise up in the midst of a large party of Dutchmen, among whom he happened to sit in a public room, and dare the whole, one after

another, to deadly fight, for simply talking a few light words of the King of Great Britain.

Sir Hatton Cheek, second in command of the English who assisted the Netherlands in recovering the town of Juliers from the Spaniards (1609), having said something in a testy manner to Sir Thomas Ditton, one of his captains, the latter took it up hotly, and returned as bold an answer as his circumstances would permit; telling Cheek, moreover, that he should soon break the bond which, for the present, compelled him to obedience, and vindicate himself in another place. Having then quitted the army, Ditton returned home, and proceeded, in the approved style of that age, to lash up the fury of his antagonist, by talking despitefully of him in public. When this came to the ears of Cheek, he happened to be sick from the effects of the siege; but he was no sooner able to walk than he wrote to Ditton, desiring a meeting with him, that he might give satisfaction for the calumnies he had propagated. As duelling was a dangerous proceeding in England, on account of the King's displeasure, the two met, with their seconds, on the sands of Calais; where they were no sooner stripped, than, without making the least attempt at sword-play, they rushed blindly on each other's weapons, with which they were in an instant mutually transfixed. As a contemporary historian remarks, they did not, in this encounter, seem to wish to kill each other, so much as they appeared to 'strive who should first die.' * Their swords being fastened in each other's bodies, they stabbed each other in the back

* Wilson.

with their daggers, 'locking themselves up,' to use the phrase of the same writer, 'as it were with four bloody keys; which the seconds fairly opened, and would fain have closed up the bleeding difference: but Cheek's wounds were deadly, which he finding, grew the violenter against his enemy; and Ditton, seeing him begin to stagger, went back from his prey, only defending himself, till the other, his rage being weakened by loss of blood, without any more hurt, fell at his feet. Ditton,' continues the same authority, 'with much difficulty recovered from his wounds; but Cheek, by his servants, had a sad funeral, which is the bitter fruit of fiery passions.'

Regarding the following other instance, a modern writer has remarked: 'Slugs and a saw-pit have been often mentioned; but I believe this is the only instance in which the latter has been really chosen as a scene of combat. Sir Thomas Compton, younger brother of Lord Compton, was a gentleman of so little irritability of temper, or rather perhaps of such a timid nature, as to avoid every occasion of quarrel which his contemporaries were in general so glad to seize. This, becoming known, was soon attended with the effects which might have been expected from it in such a society; and Compton was triumphed over and insulted by every Boabadil and Colepepper who haunted the court. 'Among the rest, one Bird, a *roaring captain*, gave him provocations so great, that some of Compton's friends taking notice of him, told him it were better to die nobly once, than live infamously ever; which wrought so upon his cold temper, that, the next affront his bold Bird put upon him, he was heartened

into the courage to send him a challenge. Bird, a great massy fellow, confident of his own strength (disdaining Compton, being less both in stature and in courage), told the second that brought the challenge, in a vapouring manner, that he would not stir a foot to encounter Compton, unless he would meet him in a saw-pit, where he might be sure Compton would not run away from him. The second, that looked upon this as a rhodomontade faucy, told him, that if he would appoint the place, Compton should not fail to meet him. Bird, making choice both of the place and weapon (which in the vain formality of fighters was in the election of the challenged), he chose a saw-pit and a single sword; where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being together in the pit, with swords drawn, and stript ready for the encounter, "Now, Compton," said Bird, "thou shalt not escape from me;" and, hovering his sword over his head in a disdainful manner, said, "Come, Compton, let's see what you can do now." Compton, attending his business with a watchful eye, seeing Bird's sword hovering over him, ran under it, in upon him, and in a moment run him through the body; so that his pride did fall upon the ground, and there sprawl out its last vanity; which should teach us, that strong presumption is the greatest weakness, and it's far from wisdom in the most arrogant strength to slight and disdain the meanest adversary.' *

But by far the most remarkable instance of duelling which took place in this reign, was that of Lord Bruce of Kinloss and Sir Edward Sack-

* Wilson.

ville, which has been commemorated in the Guardian by Steele, and is perhaps the most interesting duel on record. Lord Bruce was a young Scottish nobleman, the son and heir of the sagacious statesman of the same title, whose services were of such avail in securing James his English inheritance. Sir Edward Sackville was younger brother of the Earl of Dorset, grandson of the first Earl, so distinguished as a poet and as a statesman, and grandfather to the late poetical Earl, who shone in the court of Charles II. The cause of quarrel is supposed to have been the dishonour which Sackville brought upon Lord Bruce's sister, in consequence of an illicit amour. What gives greater interest to the circumstances, the two young men had formerly been remarked as attached friends. In January 1613, we find King James taking notice of their quarrel, and endeavouring to restore amity, but in vain. After having several times met and insulted each other, they had a rencontre at Canterbury, in May, when attending the Elector Palatine on his departure from the country; and Sackville, who had surrendered his weapon immediately before to the Elector, gave Bruce several blows on the face, but was immediately after induced, by the noblemen present, to profess a reconciliation with his adversary. Bruce is said by one authority to have then gone abroad to learn the use of the small sword; * from whence he soon after, according to another authority, wrote a challenge to Sackville, desiring him to come and take death from his hand;' for 'such killing civilities,' remarks Wilson, 'did this age produce!'

* Letter of Mr Chamberlain, in Winwood's Memorials.

The real letter, however, which is as follows, does not contain any such phrase.

'A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR SACKVILLE.

'I that am in France hear how much you attribute to yourself in this time, that I have given the world leave to ring your praises. * * * * If you call to memory, whereas I gave you my hand last, I told you I reserved the heart for a truer reconciliation. Now be that noble gentleman my love once spoke you, and come and do him right that could recite the trials you owe your birth and country, were I not confident your honour gives you the same courage to do me right, that it did to do me wrong. Be master of your own weapons and time; the place wheresoever I will wait on you. By doing this you will shorten revenge, and clear the idle opinion the world hath of both our worths. 'EDW. BRUCE.'

The second article in this correspondence, which, as the writer in the Guardian has remarked, is characterized by singular spirit and greatness of mind, is as follows:—

'A MONS. MONSIEUR LE BARON DE KINLOS.

'As it shall be always far from me to seek a quarrel, so will I always be ready to meet with any that desire to make trial of my valour by so fair a course as you require. A witness whereof yourself shall be, who, within a month, shall receive a strict account of time, place, and weapon; where you shall find me ready disposed to give you honourable satisfaction by him that shall con-

duct you thither. In the mean time, be as secret of the appointment, as it seems you are desirous of it.

'ED. SACKVILLE.'

Accordingly, Sackville soon after writes this second letter to Bruce:—

'A MONS. MONSIEUR LE BARON DE KINLOS.

'I am ready at Tergosa, a town in Zealand, to give you that satisfaction which your sword can render you, accompanied with a worthy gentleman for my second, in degree a knight; and for your coming I will not limit you to a peremptory day, but desire you to make a definite and speedy repair for your own honour, and fear of prevention, until which time you shall find me there.

'ED. SACKVILLE.'

To this Lord Bruce returned the following laconic answer:—

'A MONS. MONSIEUR SACKVILLE.

'I have received your letter by your man, and acknowledge you have dealt nobly with me, and now I come with all possible haste to meet you.

'ED. BRUCE.'

The combat, with all its sanguinary horrors and fatal conclusion, may be best related in the words of Sackville, the survivor; as given, in a letter to a courtier, soon after the event.

'Worthy Sir; As I am not ignorant, so I ought to be sensible of the false aspersions some authorless tongues have laid upon me, in the report of

the unfortunate passage lately happened between the Lord Bruce and myself, which as they are spread here, so may I justly fear they reign also where you are. There are but two ways to resolve doubts of this nature; by oath, or by sword. The first is due to magistrates, and communicable to friends; the other to such as maliciously slander and impudently defend their aspersion. Your love, not my merit, assures me you hold me your friend, which esteem I am much desirous to retain. Do me, therefore, the right to understand the truth of that; and in my behalf inform others, who either are or may be infected with sinister rumours, much prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire to hold amongst all worthy persons. And on the faith of a gentleman, the relation I shall give is neither more nor less than the bare truth. The enclosed contains the first citation, sent me from Paris by a Scotch gentleman, who delivered it to me in Derbyshire, at my father-in-law's house. After it follows my then answer, returned him by the same bearer. The next is my accomplishment of my first promise, being a particular assignation of place and weapons, which I sent by a servant of mine, by post from Rotterdam, as soon as I landed there. The receipt of which, joined with an acknowledgment of my too fair carriage to the deceased lord, is testified by the last, which periods the business till we met at Tergosa in Zealand, it being the place allotted for rendezvous; where he, accompanied with one Mr Crawford, an English gentleman, for his second, a surgeon, and a man, arrived with all speed he could. And there having rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heidon, to let him understand,

that now all following should be done by consent, as concerning the terms whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power for their appointments, who agreed we should go to Antwerp, from thence to Bergen-op-Zoom, where, in the midway, but a village divides the States' territories from the Archduke's. And there was the destined stage, to the end that, having ended, he that could, might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country, by retiring into the dominion not offended. It was farther concluded, that, in case any should fall or slip, that then the combat should cease, and he whose ill fortune had so subjected him, was to acknowledge his life to have been in the other's hands. But, in case one party's sword should break, because that could only chance by hazard, it was agreed that the other should take no advantage, but either then be made friends, or else upon even terms go to it again. Thus, these conclusions being each of them related to his party, was by us both approved, and assented to. Accordingly, we embarked for Antwerp. And by reason, as I conceive, he could not handsomely without danger of discovery, he had not paired the sword I sent him to Paris; bringing one of the same length, but twice as broad; my second excepted against it, and advised me to match my own, and send him the choice, which I obeyed; it being, you know, the challenger's privilege to elect his weapon. At the delivery of the swords, which was performed by Sir John Heidon, it pleased the Lord Bruce to choose my own, and then, past expectation, he told him that he found himself so far behind-hand, as a little of my blood would not serve his turn; and therefore he

was now resolved to have me alone, because he knew (for I will use his own words) " that so worthy a gentleman, and my friend, could not endure to stand by and see him do that which he must, to satisfy himself and his honour." Hereupon, Sir John Heidon replied, that such intentions were bloody and butcherly, far unfitting so noble a personage, who should desire to bleed for reputation, not for life; withal adding, he thought himself injured, being come thus far, now to be prohibited from executing those honourable offices he came for. The Lord, for answer, only re-iterated his former resolutions; whereupon, Sir John leaving him the sword he had elected, delivered me the other, with his determinations. The which, not for matter but manner, so moved me, as though to my remembrance I had not for a long while eaten more liberally than at dinner, and therefore unfit for such an action, (seeing the surgeons hold a wound upon a full stomach more dangerous than otherwise), I requested my second to certify him, I would presently decide the difference, and therefore he should presently meet me on horseback, only waited on by our surgeons, they being unarmed. Together we rode, but one before the other some twelve score, about some two English miles; and then, passion having so weak an enemy to assail as my discretion, easily became victor, and using his power made me obedient to his commands. I being verily mad with anger, that the Lord Bruce should thirst after my life with a kind of assuredness, seeing I had come so far and needlessly, to give him leave to regain his lost reputation. I bade him alight, which with all willingness he quickly granted, and there in a meadow, ancle-deep in water at

the least, bidding farewell to our doublets, in our shirts began to charge each other; having afore commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them besides, as they respected our favours, or their own safeties, not to stir, but suffer us to execute our pleasure; we being fully resolved (God forgive us!) to dispatch each other by what means we could; I made a thrust at my enemy, but was short; and, in drawing back my arm, I received a great wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short shooting; but in revenge I pressed in to him, though I then missed him also, and received a wound in my right pap, which passed level through my body, and almost to my back. And there we wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect trial for, honour and life. In which struggling, my hand, having but an ordinary glove upon it, lost one of her servants, though the meanest, which hung by a skin, and to sight remaineth as before, and I am put in hope one day to recover the use of it again. But at last, breathless, yet keeping our holds, there passed on both sides propositions of quitting each others' sword. But when amity was dead, confidence could not live; and who should quit first was the question; which on neither part either would perform; and restriving again afresh, with a kick and a wrench I freed my long captive weapon. Which incontinently levying at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded if he would ask his life, or yield his sword; both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do. Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, having three conduits running on me, which began to make me

faint; and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my propositions; through remembrance of his former bloody desire, and feeling of my present estate, I struck at his heart, but with his avoiding missed my aim, yet passed through the body, and drawing out my sword repassed it again, through another place, when he cried, "Oh! I am slain!" seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me. But being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily became master of him, laying him on his back; when being upon him, I re-demanded if he would request his life; but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate to be beholden for it; bravely replying, "he scorned it." Which answer of his was so noble and worthy, as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence, only keeping him down until at length his surgeon afar off, cried, "he would immediately die if his wounds were not stopped." Whereupon, I asked if he desired his surgeon should come, which he accepted of; and so being drawn away, I never offered to take his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be. This thus ended, I retired to my surgeon, in whose arms after I had remained a while, for want of blood I lost my sight, and withal, as I then thought, my life also. But strong water and his diligence quickly recovered me; when I escaped a great danger. For my Lord's surgeon, when nobody dreamt of it, came full at me with his Lord's sword; and had not mine, with my sword, interposed himself, I had been slain by those base hands; although my Lord Bruce, weltering in his blood, and past all expectation of life, conformable to all his former carriage

which was undoubtedly noble, cried out, "Rascal, hold thy hand!" So may I prosper as I have dealt sincerely with you in this relation; which I pray you, with the enclosed letter, deliver to my lord chamberlain. And so, &c.

'EDWARD SACKVILLE.'

'*Louvain, the 8th of Sept.* 1613.'

Such was the duel of Edward Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville, an incident which, for a time, created a sensation throughout the better part of Europe, and of which the relation can hardly yet be read without exciting feelings of the most painful nature. 'The dignity of wrath,' remarks the Guardian, 'and the cool and deliberate preparation which they made, by passing different climes and waiting convenient seasons for murdering each other, must raise in the reader as much compassion as horror;' while 'the gallant behaviour of the combatants may excite in our minds a yet higher detestation of that false honour which robs our country of men so fitted to support and adorn it.' Whatever impression Lord Bruce's conduct and death might make upon Sackville for the time, it would appear to have soon worn off; for within three months of the date of the conflict, we find him at home, mingling in the festivities of the court—not, however, with the countenance of the sovereign. A private letter informs us, that in November subsequent to the duel, he offered himself to perform in a court masque; which was wondered at, 'considering how little gracious he is, and that he hath been assaulted once or twice

since his return.' He had actually caused his name to be put down in the list of performers; but it was erased, probably by command of the King. The remains of the unfortunate Bruce were interred in the church of Bergen-op-Zoom, except his heart. That membrane, which had beat with such fierce and lofty sentiments, was embalmed and sent home, to be deposited in the family burial-vault at Culross Abbey in Scotland, where it was discovered about twenty years ago, in the silver case of its own shape in which it had been placed, and still in a state of preservation.

The progress of events at this period of English history, instead of resembling, as it sometimes does, the hurrying march of mists which passes athwart a wintry sky, may rather be likened to the infrequent and slow transit of a few light clouds, which enter the peaceful amphitheatre of the summer heavens, individually and at different places, and, after wandering idly here and there, as if unconnected with all surrounding objects, at last decline notelessly once more beneath the horizon. Passing over a number of such unimportant incidents, mention may be made of the unhappy story of the personage noted in James's history under the name of the Lady Arabella. This was the only child of Charles, Earl of Lennox, a younger brother of Lord Darnley; of course, cousin-german to King James. She had been depressed, and prevented from marrying, by Elizabeth, from a fear on the part of that princess, that her offspring might produce some disturbances, by pretending to the crown. James, who had the same reason for dreading any connection she might form (seeing that, in the eyes of many, his Scottish

birth was a circumstance that postponed his claim of blood to that of Arabella, a native of England,) treated her with high place and honour in his court, but let her know that she should never marry without exciting his highest displeasure. She was at length so imprudent as to form a clandestine union with a young scion of the nobility, Mr William Seymour, younger son to Lord Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Hertford. The consequence was, that James committed the lady to confinement in a private house, and Seymour to the Tower; where he was addressed with the following punning distich, by Andrew Melville, the celebrated Scottish polemic, who was confined in this prison for some turbulent proceedings in his native country.

'Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris; Ara-
Bella tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.'

After a twelvemonth's confinement, the two lovers found means to make their escape, but were re-taken and placed in the Tower, though not till they had gone through a variety of strange adventures. What is remarkable, Prince Henry was as anxious to restrain and separate this unfortunate couple as the King, believing that their having legitimate offspring could only be the means of disturbing future successions. The Lady Arabella, after enduring for four years a confinement which might perhaps be justifiable on principles of state policy, but which certainly was a flagrant violation of the privileges common to man in all conditions of life, and under all governments, died in the Tower, September 1615, and was buried in a private manner. Her husband afterwards be-

came Marquis of Hertford, and distinguished himself much on the Cavalier side in the Civil War.

The pleasing task now occurs, of recording the fall of Somerset and his guilty mate. For some months after their marriage, which, as will be remembered, took place in December 1613, the slight suspicions of the public regarding Overbury's murder were successfully repressed by the care of the Earl and his creatures, and he continued still to reign peerless in the royal favour. In July 1614, when the Earl of Suffolk was promoted from the office of Lord Chamberlain to that of Lord Treasurer, the vacant place was filled by his son-in-law; James saying to him, as he conferred the staff, 'Lo here, friend Somerset,' and immediately after telling the courtiers that he had given it to the man 'whom, of all men living, he most cherished.' A month, however, had scarcely elapsed after this elevation, when James saw, at Apthorp, George Villiers, a younger son of a Leicestershire gentleman, with whose ingenious and beautiful face he was much struck. A party of courtiers seem to have conceived, from this, the idea of ousting Somerset by means of a rival in the King's affections—one nail, as they said, to drive out another; and they forthwith began to patronise a young man, the superiority of whose external appearance promised to be so effectual in securing that object. According to the satiric Weldon, 'one gave him his place of cup-bearer, that he might be in the King's eye; another sent to his mercer and tailor to put good clothes upon him; a third to his sempstress for curious linen, and all as incomes to obtain promotion upon his future rise; then others took upon them to be his

bravoes, to undertake his quarrels, upon affronts put upon him by Somerset's faction: so all hands helped to the pieceing up of this new favourite.' At the head of the party was the same puritanical archbishop who had resisted the process of divorce in favour of Lady Essex: he gave, at a later period of life, some curious particulars regarding Villiers' rise, which prove highly illustrative of the motley character of King James.

His Majesty 'had a fashion,' says Abbot, 'that he would never admit any to nearness about himself, but such a one as the Queen should commend to him, and make some suit on his behalf; that if the Queen afterwards, being ill treated, might complain of this dear one, he might make this answer, "It is all along of yourself, for you were the party that commended him unto me." Our old master took delight in things of this nature.

'That noble Queen, who now resteth in heaven, knew her husband well, and, having been bitten with favourites both in Scotland and England, was very shy to adventure upon this request. King James, in the mean time, more and more loathed Somerset, and did not much conceal that his affection increased towards the other. But the Queen would not come to it, albeit divers lords did earnestly solicit her Majesty thereto.' She replied to all their entreaties, that, supposing Villiers to be fully ingratiated with the King, his first object would be to destroy the individuals who had assisted in his advancement.

The persons chiefly concerned in this scheme, were of the families of Herbert, Hertford, and Bedford; and they are said to have arranged their plans at a great but private entertainment at Bay-

nard's Castle. In going to the place of meeting, one of the party is reported to have caused his servant to throw a handful of dirt at a picture of Somerset, which was hung out at a stall; a sort of public defiance of the favourite.* Although the Queen was at first unwilling to be concerned in their project, she afterwards condescended to lend her assistance; and, accordingly, it was in her bed-chamber, and with the sword of her favourite son Charles, that James, on the 23d of April 1615, knighted the new favourite, with a pension of 1000*l.* a year; making him next day a gentleman of his own bed-chamber, although Somerset used every entreaty to have him only made a groom. At this early period of his history, Villiers displayed nearly the same amiable qualities which had characterized Somerset before his connection with the Countess of Essex, and was in every respect equally worthy of the King's regard. It is curious to see how he was congratulated by the peers and great officers of state on his good fortune—how even the King himself desired him to be thankful to God for having made him so acceptable to his affections. He was a young man of still greater beauty of exterior than Somerset. The good looks of that personage were of rather too robust a description. Those of Villiers were soft and angelic. James conferred upon him the familiar nick-name of *Steenie*, from an idea that his gentle regular features resembled those usually given, by Roman Catholic painters, to St Stephen, the proto-martyr.

When Somerset saw that he was nearly on the

* Heylin's Aulicus Coquinariæ.

point of being disgraced, he resolved to make use of what yet remained to him of the King's affection, to procure a full pardon of all past offences; the same device which the Earl of Morton had tried, thirty-five years before, in Scotland. James is said to have been so weak as actually to sign such a pardon; which, if the seal had been attached to it, must have disconcerted all the efforts now making by his enemies to punish him for Overbury's murder. Fortunately, however, they succeeded in intercepting the document before it passed the seal.

Historians are puzzled by the various ways in which the discovery of Somerset's guilt is described by different writers of the time. But the simple fact seems to be, that his enemies were for a long time in possession of sufficient evidence against him, and only waited till they conceived themselves to be sufficiently powerful to denounce him to the King. This was not till August 1615, a full twelvemonth after James had first seen Villiers: so long was he in supplanting the old love effectually with the new!

It may be readily supposed, from the timid character of the monarch, that he would not, with a very good grace, surrender to public justice, a man who had acquired so complete an ascendant over him as Somerset. Accordingly we find, in the behaviour ascribed to him on the occasion by historians, a strange conflict betwixt his habitual love of justice, or, as it may be called, abstract humanity, and that peculiar impotence, under which he lay all his life, of denouncing vice as it ought to be denounced, when found in those he loved. He was on a hunting excursion at Roy-

ston, at the time when the enemies of Somerset found it prudent to make his crimes known. The Earl was in company with the King, it being their intention to part next day, the former for London, the second for Newmarket. On Sir Ralph Winwood disclosing to James the story of Somerset's guilt, he was sincerely and greatly surprised, but felt at the same time so proper an indignation at the offence, as to write off immediately to Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice, for a warrant to apprehend the criminal. A more decisive monarch would have at once ordered the minion to be put under arrest; but James, whose mind proceeded in almost all matters in the same circular and shambling fashion with his body, preferred having the ends of justice accomplished by a sort of ambuscade. He is even said to have been found next day, when the warrant arrived, lolling upon Somerset's shoulders as usual, and talking to him in his customary tender style; being at the moment in the act of bidding him farewell, preparatory to his departure for London. When the warrant was presented to the Earl, he exclaimed, that never was such an affront offered to a peer of England in the presence of the King, and he boldly claimed his royal master's protection. "Nay, man," said the King, "if Coke were to send for me, I must needs go too;" and, as soon as the unhappy man had turned his back, he added, with a smile, "Now, the devil go with thee; I shall never see thy face more!" *

* It can only be said, in favour of the King at this point of his history, that there is no authentic account of his behaviour on the arrest of Somerset, and the above is by no means likely to be very correct. Another story,

To prevent any of the Earl's accomplices from taking alarm at his own apprehension, they were all seized nearly about the same time with himself. On his reaching London, he found the Countess already under arrest. * No time was lost in bringing the inferior agents to trial. Weston, a wretch who had been keeper of the unfortunate Overbury's prison, and superintended his murder, was the first; he was tried, found guilty, and immediately executed at Tyburn, though not till he had

different in particulars, is given by Sir Anthony Weldon, who represents the King as parting with Somerset before the arrest, and as sustaining, throughout the scene of leave-taking, all his usual kindness of manner and expression. 'Nor must I forget,' says this writer, 'to let you know how perfect the King was in the art of dissimulation, or, to give it his own phrase, *king-craft*. The Earl of Somerset never parted from him with more seeming affection than at this time, when he knew Somerset should never see him more; and had you seen that seeming affection (as the author himself did), you would rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. When the Earl kissed his hand, the King hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying, "For God's sake, when shall I see thee again? On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again." The Earl told him on Monday (this being Friday). "For God's sake, let me," said the King—"Shall I? Shall I?"—then lolled about his neck. "Then, for God's sake, give thy lady this kiss for me." In the same manner at the stairs head, at the middle of the stairs, and at the stairs foot. The Earl was not in his coach, when the King used these very words (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was Somerset's great creature, of the bedchamber, and reported it instantly to the author of this history), "I shall never see his face more."—*Court of King James.*

* October 18, 1615. The Earl of Northampton had escaped the consequences of his accession to the crime, by dying the year before.

confessed enough to criminate his associates. The next that suffered was Mrs Turner, a beautiful but unprincipled young widow, who had condescended, for the sake of subsistence to herself and children, to become the counsellor and assistant of the Countess, through the whole story of her complicated guilt. A third sufferer was Sir Jervis Elwes, lieutenant of the Tower, who was found guilty of fore-knowing the murder; and the list was closed by Franklin, the apothecary who supplied the various poisons. As all these culprits were executed within six weeks of the date of Somerset's arrest, we may suppose the King to have been at first inspired with a sincere wish to satisfy public justice for Overbury's death.

That he was so, is rendered the more likely by an anecdote told of him by Weldon, and which is not greatly discountenanced by writers of better authority. As soon as he knew the circumstances of Overbury's case, of which he had hitherto, of course, been kept entirely ignorant by Somerset, he summoned the judges to Royston, and there, kneeling down, with his courtiers and servants around him, [a favourite fashion of his, since he did the same thing after he was delivered from the Gowry conspirators], 'he used,' says Weldon, 'these very words:' "My lords, the judges, it is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a business of poisoning. Lord, in what a most miserable condition shall this kingdom be, (the only famous nation for hospitality in the world), if our tables shall become such a snare, as none could eat without danger of life, and that Italian custom should be introduced amongst us! Therefore, my lords, I charge you,

as you will answer it, at that great and dreadful day of judgment, that you examine it strictly, without favour, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, God's curse light on you and your posterity; and if I spare any that are found guilty, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever!" This solemn imprecation he observed carefully, in so far as all the subordinate instruments were concerned: we are now to see how he attended to it, when doom was called for against the principals.

The Earl and Countess of Somerset were confined in private houses all winter; and it was not till spring was far advanced, that they were committed to the Tower. When the lady was conducted thither, (March 27, 1616,) 'she did passionately deprecate and entreat the lieutenant, that she might not be lodged in Sir Thomas Overbury's lodging; so that he was fain to remove himself out of his own chamber for three nights, till Sir Walter Raleigh's lodging' (just vacated, in consequence of that knight's release) 'might be furnished and made fit for him.'* At her arraignment, which took place about two months after, and at which, strange to say, her first husband Essex chose to be present, were displayed all her letters to the pretended magician whom she employed to bewitch Car to love her, as also a number of waxen and leaden images, like puppets, which that artist had used in her service, the most of them too indecent to be described. Such circumstances give a strange view of the superstitions, and of the rude taste of the age; but they are surpassed in curio-

* Winwood.

sity, by the consequences of a simple incident which took place in the court:—While the letters and puppets were passing about, for the entertainment of the audience, a loud crack was heard from one of the scaffolds, 'which caused great fear, tumult, and confusion among the spectators, and throughout the hall; every one fearing hurt, as if the devil had been present, and grown angry to have his workmanship shown by such as were not his scholars.'* The trial of the Countess took place on the 23d of May; when 'she won pity,' says a narrator of passing events, 'by her demeanour, which, in my opinion, was more curious and confident than was fit for her, a lady in such distress; and yet she shed, or made show of, some tears, divers times.' It was a circumstance so singular as to excite remark, that no uncivil language was used by the court in conducting the proceedings against her; such having been the express command of the King.† She was also favoured by not having the axe carried before her. She pleaded guilty to a fore-knowledge and participation of the horrid crime laid to her charge; which, with her interesting appearance, and a consideration of the dignity of her family, induced the lords and judges to promise that they should intercede with the King for mercy.

Somerset was tried next day, and, pleading not guilty, made every effort to baffle the evidence

* Narrative History of the first Fourteen Years of King James.

† It was usual, in this age, for the judges to browbeat and vilify the prisoners during trial, as assuming that they were guilty. Coke's language to Sir Walter Raleigh is a noted instance.

brought against him. After a trial, however, of unusual duration, he was found guilty and condemned. The interest of the public on this occasion was uncommonly great; insomuch that ten shillings were given for a seat in the court, to witness the proceedings. What must have been a strange feature in the scene, the injured Earl of Essex stood over against the culprit, during the whole day, looking him full in the face.

The time was now arrived for the redemption of that promise, which James had in a manner given to the people of England, to have justice executed upon the criminals. From day to day, however, that justice was delayed. By and by, the Earl and Countess were allowed the liberty of occasionally meeting each other. Afterwards, they obtained what was called the freedom of the Tower; that is, permission to walk in certain courts within the fortress. Thus, in the course of a few months, the edge of the public appetite for vengeance against them, wore off. Finally, when other public matters had in a great measure taken attention from the guilty pair, they were pardoned, under the simple restriction of living ever after in close retirement. There is scarcely any way of palliating the misconduct of the King in this affair. Somerset and the Countess had only been led into crime by passions which do not in general assume a very dark complexion, love and ambition. It is also in some measure true, perhaps, that the death of Overbury by Somerset was only the accidental destruction of one bad man by another, a quarrel between accomplices. Yet something of the same kind may be said in favour of almost all criminals; and if we were always to set off the bad qualities which led

to crime against the good qualities which may co-exist in the man who committed it, justice would be completely puzzled, and might never get a single victim. There seems to be no doubt that James, by the favour he showed to such atrocious criminals, before and after their guilt was discovered, degraded his court in the eyes of all the virtuous people of England, and fixed the darkest, though most unfounded suspicions, upon his own personal character. It may really be allowed that there was some occasion for the promise which Ben Jonson gave out in the Masque of the Golden Age Restored, performed at this time ; where, after hinting allegorically at the horrid circumstances of the tale of Somerset, which might have been said to mark the age as one of *corrosive sublimate*, he adds—

> 'Jove therefore means to settle
> Astræa in her seat again,
> And let down, in her golden chain,
> An *age of better metal.*'

Somerset and his Countess afterwards dragged out a life more infamous and painful than the death which they ought to have suffered. The greater part of his estates were forfeited and bestowed upon the new favourite Villiers ; although it is recorded, to the credit of that young man, that, when offered the manor of Sherborne, the best of all those pieces of property, he prayed the King not to build up his fortunes upon the ruin of another. The life of the miserable pair was, if possible, rendered more miserable by mutual upbraidings ; for all real passion had sunk at the moment when neither could be advantaged by the other in matters of worldly fortune. After having lived for many years in the

same house, without even seeing or speaking to each other, the Countess died of a disease so lingering and loathsome, that its nature seemed a retribution for the death of Overbury, as well as a commentary on the infamous passion which had exercised so strong an influence over her conduct in youth. The Earl survived, an object of universal detestation, till July 1645; before which period, his daughter Anne, who was born while her mother was confined in the Tower, was married to William Lord Russel, son of the Earl of Bedford.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KING'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.

1617.

THE present chapter is devoted to a more pleasant subject than the last—the visit, to wit, which James now paid, after an absence of fourteen years, to his native dominions. Before leaving that country, it will be recollected that he promised to revisit it once every three years—there being no sea, as he remarked, nor so much as a ferry, to make the journey either dangerous or difficult. On his reaching London, however, he soon found that the terraqueous nature of the way would be but an inadequate inducement to the performance of his promise. In the first place, there was no urgent necessity for the journey, because, as he himself used to boast, Scotland was now so quiet, that he could govern it with his pen. In the second place, the visit was likely to prove very expensive, both to himself, and to the people whom he went to see. His court was not now so easily moved about, as it had been during his Scottish reign; nor would his dignity permit him to appear without the full load of magnificence which he had been accustomed to bear since he came to England.

The secret cause which urged him, at this particular period, to visit Scotland, was a wish which he earnestly entertained, to complete that modification of ecclesiastical matters in the country, which he had commenced before he left it, and which seemed necessary to the production of what he called 'a grave, settled, well-ordered church, in obedience of God and the King.' In other words, having already restored consecrated bishops, he now proposed to introduce a moderate episcopacy into the worship and government of the Scotican church, and establish his supremacy over it, as it was in England. He had encountered great difficulties, ever since his accession to the English throne, in making the first moves towards this state of things in Scotland. But it seemed likely, that, if he went personally among the people, and with his own kingly countenance entreated them to yield to what he desired, they would sink, like Semele, beneath the splendours in which they saw their native and beloved sovereign appear, and awaken, after he retired, a peaceful and contented parallel to the obedient church of England.

The Scots, as if aware of their inability to stand out against the experiment he was about to make upon them, are said to have entreated him to defer his visit; stating that they had not been allowed sufficient time to prepare for his reception, but being in reality afraid of the effect which his presence in Scotland would have upon their church. It is certain that they openly expressed themselves aware of the real object of his journey; for he thought it necessary to publish a proclamation, assuring them that his visit was chiefly occasioned by what he was pleased to call 'a salmon-lyke in-

stinct—a great and natural longing to see our native soyle and place of our birth and breeding.' Perhaps, there was also some truth in what is reported of them by Mr Chamberlain, that, though disposed to do their *ultimo forzo* for his entertainment, they dreaded the magnitude of the expense, and would have been quite as well content to remain unblessed by 'the rays of his presence.' They might have heard of the baneful effects which his briefer trips through England generally produced;—a gentry retiring from their seats as he approached, to avoid the necessity of ruining themselves by his entertainment, while the commonality every where bewailed the low prices, and no prices, at which they were obliged to supply the court with provisions. *

James 'began his journey,' says Wilson, 'with the spring, warming the country, as he went, with the glories of the court; taking such recreations by the way, as might best beguile the days, and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights (contrary to the seasons); for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing, the days quickly ran away, and the nights, with feasting, masqueing, and dancing, were the more extended. And the King had fit instruments for these sports about his person; as Sir George Goring, Sir Edward Touch, Sir John Finett, and others, that could fit and obtemperate the King's humour; for he loved such representations and disguises in their masquerades,

* The King was at considerable difficulty in raising a sum of money sufficient for his expenses on this journey. But for 100,000*l*., which was lent to him by the citizens of London, he could not have accomplished it.

as were witty and sudden—the more ridiculous, the more pleasant.

And his new favourite, being an excellent dancer, brought that pastime into the greater request. * * * In this glory he visited Scotland with the King, and is made Privy Counsellor there. He now reigns sole in the monarch's affection; every thing he doth is admired for the doer's sake. No man dances better; no man runs or jumps better; and, indeed, he jumps higher than ever Englishman did in so short a time—from a private gentleman to a dukedom. But the King is not well without him, his company is his solace; and the Court Grandees cannot be well but by him; so that all addresses are made to him, either for place or office, in court or commonwealth.' Besides Villiers, who was now Earl of Buckingham, the King was attended by a small but select party of his favourite courtiers, among whom were three bishops.

He left London on the 15th of March, and proceeding by Theobald's, Roystoun, Huntingdon, and Grantham, reached Lincoln on the 27th. Here he was received in great state, and magnificently entertained for four days. 'On Wednesday, the second of April,' says an old manuscript history of Lincoln, * 'his Majesty did come in his caroch to the sign of the George by the Stanbowe, (the Stone Bow,) to see a cocking thear, where he appointed four cocks to be put on the pit together; *which made his Majestie very merrie.* From thence he went to the Spread Eagle, to see a prise plaied thear, by a fensor of the city, and a

* Quoted in Nichols.

servant to some attendant on the court, who made the challenge; where the fensor and the scholars of the city had the better; on which his Majestie called for his porter, who called for the sword and buckler, and gave and received a broken paite, and other bad hurts.' James expressed himself highly delighted with the country about Lincoln, and told the Mayor and Aldermen, when they kissed his hand at parting, 'that if God lent him life he would see them oftener.'

He spent the whole of April and the early part of May in a deliberate progress through the north of England; which we have the authority of Buckingham for stating that he enjoyed very highly. 'His Majesty,' says that person in a letter to Bacon, 'though he were a little troubled with a little pain in his back, which hindered his hunting, is now, God be thanked, very well, and as merry as ever he was; and we have all held out well.' In another letter, written at the end of April, he tells the Lord Chancellor, that 'his Majesty, God be thanked, is in very good health, and so well pleased with his journey, that I never saw him better, nor merrier.' It seems to have made little impression on the good-humoured monarch, habitually unregardful of sums, that, according to the report of a different attendant on the court, he was in great distress for want of money.

He arrived at Berwick about the tenth of May, and left it on the 13th. His first resting-place in Scotland was at Dunglass, the seat of his ancient and trusty counsellor the Earl of Home; where he was saluted with a long Latin speech, panegyrizing his ancestors and himself. He lodged on the evening of the 15th at Seaton, the seat

of George third Earl of Wintoun, where he was presented with two long poems; the second of which was 'Forth Feasting,' by William Drummond of Hawthornden, justly styled by Lord Woodhouselee, 'one of the most elegant panegyrics ever addressed by a poet to a prince.'

Long before James had thus approached within one stage of Edinburgh, the authorities there had done everything in their power to prepare the city for his reception; and, assuredly, the characteristic anxiety of the Scottish nation to make themselves and their country bear a good appearance in the eyes of strangers, was now most abundantly and most ludicrously exemplified. So far back as the 22d of May, 1616, the Privy Council had issued a warrant to the Master of his Majesty's Works, to revise the palaces of Holyroodhouse, Stirling, and Falkland; 'to tak doun the haill rooffe and thak of the lodgeing above the utter yett, [of Holyroodhouse] called the Chancellares lodgeing, with sae meikle of the stane warke as is requisite, and caus the same be buildit up and perfyte of new; to tak doun to the grund the chalmer within the Pallace, callit the Stewartis Chalmer, and on nawayes to build up the same agayne, in respect of the deformitie and disproportion that it has to the rest of the building thair; to tak doun the chalmer and galrie in Halirudhous callit Sir Roger Ashtons's chalmer, and to build up the same of new; to tak doun the kitching callit Chancellar Maitlands's Kitching, in the end of the transe called the Dukis Transe, bothe in the rooffe, jeists, and walls, as is necessar, and to build up the same of new; and to tak doun the toofalles [*projections*] in the Baikehous Yairde of

Halirudhous, and the hail dykis of the Baikhous Yairde, and not to big up the same agane, sua that of the yairde ane perfyte cloise may be maid;' with many similar reparations upon the two provincial palaces mentioned in the warrant. On the 24th of December, the same dignified body directed an order to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, commanding that, as 'the strangearis and otheris that ar to accompanay his Majestie heir, will be carefull narrowlie to remark upon and espy the carriage and conversation of the inhabitantis of the said toun, forme of their interteynment and ludgeing, and gif thair houses, and bedding, and naprie be neate and clene, and according as they sall find, will mak reporte outher to the credit, or the reproche and scandall of this burgh;' therefore they must see that the houses devoted to the accommodation of the strangers, be 'furnisht with *honest and clene bedding*, and weile washen and weile smellit naprie and otheris linningis, and with a sufficient number and quantitie of good vessells, cleane and cleare, and of sufficient lairgenes.' This precept orders that accommodation for five thousand persons be provided, that 'all staiblairis be furnisht with sufficiencie of corne, strae, and hay,' that the 'Magistratis haif a cair and gif directions for keeping of their streittis cleene, and that no filthe nor middingis * be seen upon the same, and that no beggaris be seen within thair boundis.'

The last matter touched upon in this edict, was too tender a subject, and one of too monstrous and dreadful a kind, to be thus lightly attended to.

* It may be as well not to furnish our English readers wth a key to this mysterious language.

On the same day with the edict, appeared an 'act aganist Beggaris,' composed in language which at once displays the horrid nature of the nuisance, and the anxiety of the Privy Council to have it huddled out of sight before 'the strangearis' should arrive. 'Forasmeikle,' says this act, 'as grete nomberis of strong, sturdy, and idill beggaris and vagaboundis daylie travellis athorte the countrey, and from all pairtis ewest to this Burgh of Edinburgh, quhair they pas the tyme in all kynd of ryott and filthie and beistlie litcherie, to the offens and displesour of God; as they do lykewise importune his nobilitie, counsellouris, and others his Majestie's goode subjectis, with *shamefull exclamationis and outcryis*, lyes upon the streitis of the Cannogait and betwin Leythe and Edinburgh; and it is lykeaneuch that, when his Majestie comes to this cuntrey this next sommer, they will follow his Majestie's courte, *to the greite discredite and disgrace of the cuntrey;* thairfore the Lords of Secreit Counsall ordanis lettres to be direct, to command, charge, and inhibite all and sindrie strong, sturdie, and idill beggaris be oppin proclmatioun at the Mercat Croces of the heade burghs of this realme, and other places needful, that none of thame presume to wander athorte the cuntrey;' and further, to prohibit all persons dwelling in or near Edinburgh from affording them lodgings, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each offence.'

The Privy Council still further evinced their anxiety regarding the proper reception of the King and Court, by issuing, on the 13th of February (1617), a 'proclamation anent ludgeings.' On their requesting the Magistrates of the Canongate to give in a roll of all the houses which could ac-

commodate any of the royal train, those dignitaries had informed them, that the whole, such as they were, had already been bespoken by 'noblemen, baronis, and gentlemen of this cuntrey, sua that thair wes not ane free house in the Cannogait, quhair ony of his Majestie's tryne might be ludgeat.' The purpose of this proclamation was to assure all such as 'hes tane, or myndis to tak ludgeings or stablis in the Cannogait,' that, as this is 'a matter verie offensive to his Majestie, and that can nowayis stand with his Majestie's contentment, nor the credit of the cuntrey, they will be frustrat and disappointit of thair intentis;' for, 'all the saidis ludgeings and stablis will be tane up and markit for his Majestie's awne tryne and followaris.' They likewise issued an edict for the preservation of 'muirfowl, pairtridges, and pouttis,' within ten miles of Edinburgh, that there might be no lack of sport for the King and his retinue.

The Corporation of Edinburgh displayed no less zeal in the duty of preparing for James's reception. On the 9th of April, we find the Town-council ordaining that 'ane number of the gravest most antient burgesses, and of best rank within this burgh, sall be warnit to attend his Majesties entrie within the samine, *all apparelit in black velvet*, the ane half in gownis faiced with black velvet, and the uther half in partisanis.' Soon after, learning that it was 'his Majesties will and plesour that ane harrang and speache be maid to him at his entrie,' they nominated their Clerk-depute 'to mak the said harrang, and provyde himself to that effect.' They also resolved upon giving the King a banquet, and ordered a ban-

queting-house to be built for the purpose. When they understood the King to have reached Berwick, they sent their clerk thither, to learn 'his Majesties will and plesour anent the maner of his ressait (reception) at his entrie within the burgh, and to give information to his Majestie of the order takin theranent be the Guid Toun.' Could it be, in consequence of any hint given on this occasion, that, two or three days after, they enacted the following? 'Understanding that the Kingis Majestie, at his first going to Ingland, was propynit be the hail tounis throw which his Majestie raid, with ane coup with certaine quantity of gold, according to the estate and rank of the town; and, sielyk, that the same tounis, at his Majesties doun-cumming, hes rememberit his Majestie with the lyk propyne; to eschew any imputation of neglect or dewtie, this burgh, being the heid and principal of this kingdome, thocht meet to propyne his Majestie at his entrie, *with ten thousand merkis, in dowble angells of gold*, and to by ane gilt baissin of the grittest quantity can be had, to put the same in.'

These memorabilia are not more illustrative of the manners and customs of the age, than are some which follow regarding the actual event of the King's reception. He advanced from Seton on the 16th of May, and 'enterit at the West Poirt of Edinburgh, quhair the Provest, the four Bailyeis, the haill counsell of the toun, with ane hundreth honest men and mae, war all assemblit in blak gownes, all lynit with plane velvet, and thair haill apparell was plane velvet.' The Provost first made 'ane harrang' for himself; and then the clerk, 'in name of the haill citizens,'

began a speech, which, for hyperbolic flattery and euphuistic expression, surpasses, by the confession of Mr Nichols, all the speeches of a similar nature contained in his volumes. By the showing of this courtly speaker, the departure of James for England had been a kind of political sunset to Scotland; by that event the people were darkened, 'deepe sorrowe and feare possessing their herts, their places of solace only giving a new heate to the fever of the languishing remembrance of their former happiness; the verie hilles and groves, accustomed of before to be refreshed with the dewe of his Majesties presence,' ceased to put on 'their wonted apparell,' and 'with pale lookes represented thair miserie for the departure of their royal king.' This day, however, brought back 'our sunne,' in the 'royal countenance of our new Phœnix, the bright star of our northerne firmament, the ornament of our age;' and every thing is accordingly refreshed and revived. He begs pardon, *upon the very knees of his hart*, for presuming to speak before one who is 'formed by nature, and framed by education,' to be himself 'the perfection of all eloquence.' And, after a long tissue of extravagant adulation, during which he takes special notice of the peaceful nature of James's government, and of his zeal in behalf of the Protestant faith, which had 'battred and shaken the walles of Rome more than did the Goths and Vandals the old frame thereof by their sworde,' he throws the hearts of his constituents, one and all, at his Majestie's feet, along with their lives, goods, *liberties*, and whatsoever else is dear to them! 'Thereafter, ane purse containing five hundreth dowble angellis of gold, laid in a silver

basing dowble overgilt, was propynit to his Majestie, quha with ane myld and gracious countenance, resavit thame with thair propyne.' After being thus doubly regaled—with flattery and gold—the King passed along the streets to the church, where he stopped to hear a sermon by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews. As he afterwards passed to his palace, he knighted the Provost on the public street. A book of congratulatory verses by members of the University, was presented to him, along with a Latin speech, as he entered the palace court.

He was treated with a sumptuous banquet by the city of Edinburgh; but, as some weeks were yet to elapse before the meeting of Parliament, he soon after began a progress through some of the burghs to the north of the capital. A most amusing instance of the grotesque taste of the age occurred at his entry into the town of Linlithgow, his first stage from Edinburgh. One Wiseman, the schoolmaster of the burgh, stood at the end of the town, enclosed in a plaster which was made in the figure of a lion, and uttered the following rhymes, the composition of William Drummond:

'Thrice royal sir, here I do you beseech,
Who art a lion, to hear a lion's speech;
A miracle—for since the days of Æsop,
No lion till these times his voice dared raise up
To such a majesty; then, King of Men,
The King of Beasts speaks to thee from his den;
Who, though he now enclosed be in plaster,
When he was free, was Lithgow's wise schoolmaster.'

A more farcical incident does not occur throughout

the whole life of this farcical monarch—except, perhaps, one which is supposed to have taken place, as he was progressing, by Dunfermline, to Falkland. 'There is a tradition,* that James the Sixth, hunting in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, invited the company then attending upon him to dine along with him at a *collier's house*, meaning the Abbey of Culross, then belonging to Sir George Bruce.† The works at Culross appear to have been in their most flourishing condition, a little before and some time after James's accession to the throne of England. They were then wrought a considerable way under the sea, or at least where the sea overflowed at full tide, and the coals were carried out to be shipped by a moat within the seamark, which had a subterraneous communication with the coal-pit. Being conducted by his own desire to see the works below ground, he was led insensibly by his host and guide to the moat above mentioned, it being then high water. Having ascended from the coal-pit, and seeing himself, without any previous intimation, surrounded by the sea, he was seized with an immediate apprehension of some plot against his liberty or life, and called out "Treason!" But his faithful guide quickly dispelled his fears, by assuring him that he was in perfect safety, and, pointing to an elegant pinnace, that was made fast to the moat, desired to know whether it was most agreeable to his Majesty to be carried ashore in it, or to return by the same

* Beauties of Scotland, iv. 293.

† Uncle to the unfortunate Lord Bruce of Kinloss, and a great coal-proprietor in the neighbourhood of Culross, the Abbey of which was his seat. The present Earl of Elgin is his descendant.

way he came; upon which the King, preferring the shortest way back, was carried directly ashore, expressing much satisfaction at what he had seen.'

He arrived at Falkland on the 19th of May, and once more enlivened, with the sounds of his hunting-horn, that noble park, which had been his favourite scene of amusement in youth. On the 22d, he went to Kinnaird, the seat of Sir John Livingston, where he spent eight days, probably in sylvan sports. On the 30th, he advanced to Dundee, and was welcomed by the town-clerk, in a panegyrical speech, and by two Latin poems. It was expected by the inhabitants of Aberdeen, that he would have graced their ancient and thriving city with a visit on this occasion; and they had made preparations accordingly. But the necessity of returning to Edinburgh, in time to prepare for the meeting of Parliament, prevented his Majesty from gratifying the worthy citizens. To compensate as far as possible for the want of his own presence, he sent them a large deputation of his retinue, all of whom were made burgesses, including Archy Armstrong, his jester—who, however, as a late writer remarks, 'was not dubbed a doctor.'

James was at Edinburgh on the 3rd of June, when the Earl of Buckingham wrote to the Lord Keeper Bacon: 'His Majesty, God be thanked, is very well, and safely returned from his hunting journey.' He spent the time between this date, and the 17th June, when the Parliament was to sit down, 'in consultations, by way of preparation, towards *his ends*—that is, to procure better maintenance than the ministry hath here, and some conformity between the churches of Scotland and Eng-

land in public service, whereof the first it is hard to guess the success, so many great men are interested in the tythes. Towards the other, his Majesty hath set up his chapel here, in like manner of service as it is in England, which is yet frequented well by the people of the country.' So says Sir Dudley Carleton, who acknowledges, at the same time, that 'we have here very kind and magnificent entertainment.' Sir Dudley, we suspect, gives rather too smooth an account of the establishment of the chapel. James had resolved, on this occasion, to plant such a place of worship beside his palace of Holyroodhouse, as might serve as a sort of pattern for the style of decoration and worship he wished to introduce into the churches of the land. He had previously sent an organ from London (which cost 400*l*.,) as well as portraits of the apostles and evangelists, for the adornment of the walls. These objects, however, were regarded with horror and alarm by the people, who were possessed by an idea that they were the harbingers of the restoration of Popery. We are told by James Howell, gravely or not, that the Scotch skipper who brought down the organ, conceived himself affected by a singing in his head for weeks after; and as for the singing boys which accompanied it, he is convinced that 'yf God and his angells at the last day should come down in ther whitest garments, they [the Scotch] would run away and cry, "The children of the Chapell are come again to torment us! let us fly from the abomination of these boyes and hide ourselves in the mountaynes!"' The serious earnest of all this is proved by the circumstance, that even bishops thought proper to remon-

strate, against the introduction of the images into the chapel, on the plea that they gave offence to the people; to which remonstrance James at length gave way; although not without a severe sarcasm at the ignorance which could not distinguish between an object set up for decoration, and one set up for worship.* To show further the alarm with which the people regarded every symptom of returning Episcopacy, an absolute riot took place at the funeral of one of the royal guard, which was performed with the English burial-service, and strong exception was taken by the clergy against the appearance of the clergyman on that occasion in a surplice. The clergyman was William Laud, now chaplain to an English bishop, but afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr Chamberlain mentions a circumstance which will appear still less equivocal—that the Bishop of Galloway, Dean of the Chapel-Royal, refused to receive the communion with the King *kneeling*.† This from a bishop!‡

At the opening of the parliament, James formed part of the equestrian procession, in which, the Scottish senate, as usual, approached their house of assembly; riding 'in as honourable a fashion,' says an Englishman who was present, ‖ 'as I have ever

* Spottiswoode's History.

† Winwood.

‡ The truth is, the bishops of this reign were scarcely worthy of the name, in comparison to those introduced by Charles and Laud about twenty years after. A little finger of the latter class, according to the droll declaration of a Scotch minister, was as heavy as the *haill bouk* (entire bulk) of one of the former.

‖ The anonymous writer of a letter to Bacon.—Bacon's Works, iii. 523.

seen him do in England ;' the Earl of Buckingham attending at his stirrup, ' in his collar, but not in his robes.' In his speech, he made a lengthy declaration of his desires, all of which, however injudicious they were to prove in execution, seemed to tend to the good of the country. His prevailing object was to reduce the ' barbarity '—such was the word he used—of this kingdom, to the ' sweet civility ' of England ; ' adding further,' says the English writer just quoted, ' that, if the Scotch nation would be as docible to learn the goodness of England, as they are teachable to limp after their ill, he might with facility prevail in his desire ; for they had learned of the English to drink healths, wear coaches and gay clothes, to take tobacco, and to speak neither Scotch nor English.' There cannot be the least doubt, that, in endeavouring to establish his supremacy over the Scottish church, and reduce it to a conformity of worship, he was inspired with a sincere wish to better the condition of the people, which he justly conceived to be deteriorated by the desultory exertions of their present ill-paid and scattered clergy. And he must have been equally sincere in the attempt which he made on this occasion, to abolish the hereditary sheriffships, which tended so much to keep the people in a sort of thraldom under the gentry, and to substitute justices of the peace of his own appointment. But it was not by a visit of six weeks, that he was to smooth away the obstinate prejudices of the Scotch, against every thing like political or religious improvement. He was obliged, at the end of the parliament, to leave the objects of his journey unfulfilled, or, what turned

out to be nearly the same thing, under the consideration of a set of commissioners.

Two days after the first sitting of the parliament, (June 19,) he celebrated the fifty-first anniversary of his birth, on the spot where that event took place, within Edinburgh castle. Andrew Ker, a boy of nine years of age, on this occasion welcomed his Majesty to the castle gates, in 'ane Hebrew speech;' after which he was presented with several short Latin poems. The whole entertainment afforded at Edinburgh to him and his train seems to have given much satisfaction, and to have conveyed to the English in general, a more favourable impression of the country than they previously entertained. 'The country,' says Lord Bacon's correspondent, 'affords more profit and better contentment than I could ever promise myself by reading of it. The King was never more cheereful in both body and mind, never so well pleased; *and so are the English of all conditions.* The entertainment very honourable, very general, and very full; every day feasts and invitations. I know not who paid for it. They strive, by discretion, to give us all fair contentment, that we may know that the country is not so contemptible, but that it is worth the cherishing. The Lord Provost of this town, who in English is the Mayor, did feast the King and all the Lords this week; and another day all the gentlemen. And I confess, it was performed with state, with abundance, and with a general content.' We dare not think of the fare upon which the poor citizens must have retreated after all this prodigality.

The King progressed, on the last day of June, from Edinburgh to Stirling, where he was wel-

comed by Mr Robert Murray, commissary, in a speech which contains a strange mixture of deserved and undeserved compliment. After comparing James to a number of the greatest of the Roman emperors—particularly to Constantine!—this officer very properly says, that, under his Majesty's happy government, the laws, which in his minority were like spiders' webs, taking hold of the smallest and letting the greatest pass, were become 'like nets for lions and boars, which hold fastest the most mighty.' Thus, continues he, 'the most savage parts of this countrie have loosed of their wyld nature and become tame. Where' he asks, 'are now the broils of the Borders? where the deadly feuds and ignoble factions of the nobles? the stryfe of barons and gentlemen? where is the wolfish cruelty of the clans in the Isles and far Highlands? Are not all now, by your Majesties wyse and provident government, under God, either abolished or amended? And so, justlie wee may avouch, *Scotiam invenisti lateritiam, marmoream fecisti.* *' He concludes by stating that, 'justly as Stirling may vaunt of her naturall beautie and impregnable situation, of the labyrinths of her delicious Forth, of the deliciousness of her vallayes, and the herds of deare in her park; though she may esteem herself famous' by the connection of her early history with that of Rome, and the association of her name with that of great men, from Agricola to William the Lyon; 'yet doth she esteeme this her onlie glorie and worthiest praise, that she was the place of your Majesties education,

* You found Scotland brick, you made it marble—what was said of Augustus regarding Rome.

and that those sacred brows, which now bear the weightie diadems of three invincible nations, were empalled with their first here.' Upon the whole, the Stirling speech is superior to most others delivered to James in his progress through the country, both in point of sense and expression. He spent four or five days in his palace at Stirling castle; days in all probability the most delightful he had spent for many years, since they presented to him the scenes of his infancy and youth.

He advanced to Perth on the 5th of July, and was welcomed to that ancient and beautiful town in a speech, which, among many more refined compliments, informed the monarch that 'he had stript the strumpet of Rome stark naked, so that, instead of a two-horned lambe, she appeared to the world, as she was indeed, a ten-horned devil!' Perth was not a town which could be expected to suggest the most agreeable ideas to his Majesty. It was here that he underwent, seventeen years before, the perils of the Gowry treason. It is very probable, however, that that affair was the very cause of his coming out of his way to pay the town this visit. The Gowry conspiracy, however strong the impression of its reality was fixed upon his own mind, had been a great deal discredited in England as well as Scotland; and he might now wish to give the testimony of locality and of eye-witnesses to his own story, as a means of producing entire conviction in his English courtiers. We accordingly find that, before visiting Perth, he had given orders that all the persons who had been present at the tragedy, now surviving, should meet him on a certain day in the town. With these, immediately after his arrival, he enter-

ed Gowry house, followed by his suite, and, with great ceremony, detailed the whole series of the circumstances, illustrating each, as he proceeded, with the confirmatory remarks of the witnesses. Finally, ascending to the chamber in which the two brothers had received their wounds, he knelt down upon the floor, (on which the blood was still visible,) and, causing all his attendants to kneel around him, 'with tears of contrition for his sins to God, and thankfulness for his mercy, using many pious ejaculations, embraced all those actors in the tragedy,' with the exception of the poor slave Henderson, who was only permitted to kiss his hand.* This affair is strongly characteristic of the King, and should be held as adding to the probability of his perfect sincerity in the original transaction. It had the effect of satisfying the minds of many of the English upon the subject.

From Perth, James retrograded to Falkland, and from thence to St Andrews, at which last place, the corporation and the university combined to overwhelm him with Latin congratulations. He spent a few days at that ancient seat of the Muses, chiefly in wranglings with the more intractable of the clergy, but occasionally in the more agreeable business of presiding at university disputations. On the 18th of July, he had returned to Stirling, where, next day, he received a visit from a deputation of the University of Edinburgh, who were to have disputed before him at that city, if public business had not prevented him from giving them a hearing.

* Howell's State Worthies, *(art. 'Earl of Holderness,')* *p.* 786.

This meeting took place in the chapel-royal at Stirling Castle, and was attended by a great number of the English and Scotch nobility, and by many learned men. No scene could be more germane to the disposition of the monarch, who, accordingly, as we are told, enjoyed it highly. The first question discussed by the learned doctors, was, 'Ought sheriffs and other inferior magistrates to be hereditary?'—a question at this time agitated in the national senate, where it was the earnest wish of King James that it should be decided in the negative. As might have been expected, the oppugners of the question soon got the advantage; for the weighty arguments of royalty were thrown into that scale. The King was highly delighted with their success, and, turning to the Marquess of Hamilton, (hereditary sheriff of Clydesdale,) who stood behind his chair, said, "James, you see your cause is lost, and all that can be said for it is clearly answered and refuted."

'The second thesis was On the Nature of Local Motion. The opposition to this was very great, and the respondent produced numerous arguments from Aristotle in support of his thesis; which occasioned the King to say, "These men know the mind of Aristotle as well as he did himself when alive."

'The third thesis was Concerning the Origin of Fountains or Springs. The King was so well pleased with this controversy, that, although the three quarters of an hour allotted for the disputation were expired, he caused them to proceed, sometimes speaking for and against both respondent and opponent, seldom letting an argument on either side pass without proper remarks.

'The disputations being over, the King withdrew to supper; after which, he sent for the disputants, whose names were John Adamson, James Fairlie, Patrick Sands, Andrew Young, James Reid, and William King; before whom he learnedly discoursed on the several subjects controverted by them, and began to comment on their several names, and said, "These gentlemen, by their names, were destined for the acts they had in hand this day;" and proceeded as followeth:

"Adam was father of all, and Adam's son had the first part of this act. The defender is justly called Fairlie;* his thesis had some fairlies in it, and he sustained them very fairly, and with many fair lies given to the oppugners. And why should not Mr Sands be the first to enter the sands? But now I clearly see that all sands are not barren, for, certainly, he hath shown a fertile wit. Mr Young is very old in Aristotle. Mr Reid need not be red with blushing for his acting this day. Mr King disputed very kingly, and of a kingly purpose, concerning the royal supremacy of reason above anger and all passions. I am so well satisfied,"' added his Majesty, '"with this day's exercise, that I will be godfather to the College of Edinburgh, and have it called *the College of King James*, for, after its founding, it stopped sundry years in my minority; after I came to knowledge, I held to it, and caused it to be established; and although I see many look upon it with an evil eye, yet I will have them know that, having given it my name, I have espoused its quarrel, and at a proper time will give it a royal god-

* *Ferly* is the Scotch for *wonder*.

bairn gift, to enlarge its revenues."' The King being told that there was one in company his Majesty had taken no notice of, namely, Henry Charteris, Principal of the College, who, though a man of great learning, yet by his innate bashfulness, was rendered unfit to speak in such an august assembly, his Majesty answered, "His name agrees well with his nature, for charters contain much matter, yet say nothing; and, though they say nothing, yet they put great things into men's mouths." The King having signified that he would be pleased to see his remarks on the Professors' names versified, it was accordingly done, as follows:—

"As Adam was the first man, whence all beginning tak,
So Adamson was president, and first man in this act.
The Thesis Fairlie did defend, which though they lies contein,
Yet were fair lies, and he the same right fairlie did maintein.
The field first entered Mr Sands, and there he made me see,
That not all sands are barren sands, but that some fertile be.
Then Mr Young most subtilie the Theses did impugne,
And kythed old in Aristotle, althogh his name be Young.
To him succeeded Mr Reid, who, thogh Reid be his name,
Needs neithir for his disput blush, nor of his speech think shame.
Last entred Mr King the lists, and dispute like a king,
How reason, reigning like a king, should anger under bring.

To their deserved praise have I thus playd upon their names,
And will their Colledge hence be called *The Colledge of King James.*' *

It being the King's intention to return to England by the west road, he left Stirling for Glasgow, where he arrived on the 22nd of July. At his entrance into this city, since rendered so eminent by commerce, but which at the period in question was described as '*nec opium copiâ, nec ædium splendore, nec mœnium ambitu, nec civium dignitate, conspicua,*' he was welcomed, in a complimentary speech, 'by Mr William Hay of Barro, commissar of Glasgo,' who described himself as being, on such an impressive occasion, like 'one touched by a torpedo, or seen of a wolf,' though he nevertheless found speech to describe the royal visiter, as being, 'among the Princes of his tyme, like gold amongst the metals, the diamond amongst the gemmes, the rose amongst the flowers, and the moone amongst the stars.' Here James was also complimented with a long Latin speech, which Robert Boyd of Trochrig, principal of the College of Glasgow, delivered to him in the name of that institution. He spent two days in the archiepiscopal city, a brief period, but correspondent perhaps to its importance in the year 1617. It is probable that he did not feel much interested in Glasgow; for, during the whole of his Scottish reign, though generally living within thirty or forty miles of the city, he is only found to have once visited it—on his retirement from Edinburgh, after the murder of the Earl of Moray, in 1593.

* Muses' Welcome.

He advanced, July 24, to Paisley, 'where, in the Earl of Abercorne his great hall, was gratiouslie delivered, by a prettie boy of nine yeeres of age, (Williame Semple, son of Sir James Semple of Beltries), a speech in the vernacular tongue,' the most fantastic, perhaps, of all the fantastic orations which had yet been uttered in his presence. Having reminded the King, that when the people of Rome were saluting Cæsar, 'a sillie pye among the rest, cried "Ave, Cæsar!" too,' this youth proceeds to say, that he, an equally humble creature in comparison, presumes, in the name of his fellow-subjects 'in these parts,' to lift up his 'sillie voice' in congratulation of his sacred Majesty. He swears by the Black Book of Paisley that his Majesty is welcome.

'Thus have I said, Sir, and thus have I sworn;
Performance tak from noble Abercorne.'

Flying to Ovid for metaphor, he compares the King to Phœbus, and makes out Scotland to be his Clytia, because it was his first love. He has already passed the head, neck, and arms of his Clytia; but it is only now that he has at last reached her heart. 'Why? because in this very parish is that auncient seat of Sir William Wallas,* that worthie warrier, to whome, under God, we owe that you ar ours, and Britaine yours. In this very parish is that noble house of Dairnley Lennox, whence sprung your Majestie's most famous progenitors; in the city you came from,† the bed that

* William Wallace, the Scottish patriot, was the younger son of Wallace of Elderslie, near Paisley.

† Glasgow.

bred you; in the next you goe to, * that noble race of Hamilton, wherein your Highness's royal stem distilled some droppes of their dearest blood; and in this very house is your Majestie's own noble Abercorne, a chief sprigg of the same roote, removed only a little by time, but nothing by nature;' And much more stuff to the same purpose.

On the 28th of July, the King was at Hamilton, the seat of James, second Marquess of Hamilton; on the 31st, he was at Sanquhar Castle, the seat of William Lord Crichton, cousin and successor to the felon lord; on the 1st of August, he was entertained at Drumlangrig, the seat of Sir William Douglas, ancestor of the Queensberry family; and on the 4th of August, he reached the town of Dumfries, where he was welcomed with a flaming speech by Mr James Halliday, the commissary. There is a tradition at Dumfries, that, at an entertainment given to him by the citizens, some black fishes of an unusual kind were set before his Majesty. There being something strange in the smell as well as in the colour of this dish, the sagacious nose which smelt out the gunpowder treason, took alarm, and its royal proprietor, suspecting a design to poison him, started up, exclaiming "*Treason!*" Nor could he be prevailed upon to re-seat himself at table, without a great deal of difficulty. The fishes were probably from the neighbouring lake called Lochmaben, which to this day produces a species known no where else in Scotland. ‡

* The King was to advance next to Hamilton.

‡ Called *Vendices.*

After a farewell sermon, preached to him by the Bishop of Galloway, which, according to the report of Spottiswood, caused the congregation to burst out into tears, the King passed over the border of his native kingdom, and lodged, on the night of the 5th, at Carlisle. It is a curious anecdote of the national spirit of Scotland, and of the uncompromising system of retribution maintained by its half-civilized inhabitants, that a gentleman of the name of Ker, a kinsman or clansman of the degraded Somerset, was here apprehended for a design of assassinating the new favourite Buckingham, whom he had supposed to be the main instrument of his friend's downfall. The King proceeded, on the 6th, to Brougham Castle, the seat of the Earl of Cumberland; on the 7th to Appleby; on the 8th to Wharton-Hall, the mansion of Lord Wharton; on the 9th to Kendal; on the 11th to Hornby Castle, the seat of Sir Conyers Darcy; and on the 12th to Ashton-Hall, a house of Lord Gerard.

While progressing in this easy fashion through Lancashire, James received a petition from a great number of the peasants, tradesmen, and servants, requesting that they might be allowed to take their diversion, 'as of old accustomed,' after divine service on Sundays; a circumstance trifling in itself, but which is supposed to have been followed by effects of great importance in the history of England. It must be understood, that, for some years previous to the death of Elizabeth, and even since James's accession, the Puritans had been introducing a fashion of observing Sunday with the Judaical degree of strictness; forbidding the people, on that day, to enjoy any of the recreations

which formerly distinguished it, devoting it entirely to religious purposes, and, with an affectation which partly remains at this day, terming it *the Sabbath*, as if it had been the real day of rest of the old dispensation. As a matter of course, the Puritans were opposed in their views by the more liberal religionists of the established church, who, with more rationality, esteeming it a day set apart for purposes partly of piety and partly of rest and recreation, used it accordingly. That King James was of the latter way of thinking, is proved by an anecdote which is related of him. He had ordered his coaches to be brought through the city of London, one Sunday, that they might be ready to attend him on a progress which he intended to commence next morning. The Lord Mayor, offended at the indecent noise which they made, ordered them to be stopped by his officers; which intelligence being carried to the King, he swore that he thought there had been no more kings in England than himself, and, in a fit of passion, sent a peremptory order to the Mayor to release the carriages. The magistrate obeyed the royal commands; only remarking, that he thought to do his duty so long as he could, but, a higher power coming in his place, he found himself necessitated to yield; a declaration so respectful, and at the same time so judicious, that James could not help applauding him for it. But, indeed, when we reflect on the joyous temperament of King James, and his antipathy to every thing that smacked of preciseness or puritanism, we can be at no loss to predicate the side which he was to take in this controversy.

At the present time, perhaps, after having wit-

nessed the horrors of the Scotch Sunday, he was just in that mood of mind, that a circumstance like the petition of the Lancashire peasantry was sufficient to decide him in favour of active proceedings. He now resolved to publish a Book of Sports, as it was called; namely, a description of certain games, such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, which he thought the people might innocently recreate themselves with, after divine service; containing also an injunction, to be uttered by the ministers from their pulpits, that the people should forthwith proceed to enjoy these recreative amusements, after they should have attended public worship. There can be no doubt that this was an injudicious measure; because, by leading the people to the very border of propriety, it tempted them to transgress the line. It would have been enough if such sports had been tacitly permitted—for, in that case, a consciousness that they were discountenanced by the law, would have caused the people to mix the proper degree of trembling with their mirth. Yet, after all, the adoption of such a measure by the King, was prompted merely by the spirit of the age, which dictated violent remedies for violent diseases; and there was nothing more extraordinary in the promulgation of a book of sports, than there was in the absurdity of constraining the mind on Sunday to an unceasing series of devotional exercises, which were abstractly disagreeable to it, and for which there is no injunction in the Scriptures. On this subject, as on most others of a speculative nature in this age, public opinion went to extremes; one party exclaiming in favour of the

gloomy mode of keeping the Sunday, and the other defending the expediency of making it partly a day of festive enjoyment; and all that can properly be said of the affair of the Book of Sports, which has excited so much rancorous feeling among the more serious part of the community against King James, is, that it was the principal symptom or declaration of opinion exhibited by the latter body of Christians. It is said, however, that this measure, though adopted expressly in compliance with the desires of a portion of the people, and intended for the happiness of the whole, gave general and deep offence, and had great effect in bringing on the crisis of the civil war. During that unhappy contention, when it several times happened that the King lost battles which took place on Sunday, the victors never failed to refer to the Book of Sports, enforced by his father, as the cause of his misfortunes; observing, that the day which the House of Stuart had first caused to be profaned by sports, to the offence of their people, was now profaned by fighting to their own disadvantage. *

* The following are M. D'Israeli's remarks on this subject:—

'The King found the people of Lancashire discontented, from the unusual deprivation of their popular recreations on Sundays and holidays, after the church-service: "With our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people." The Catholic priests were busily insinuating among the lower orders, that the Reformed Religion was a sullen deprivation of all mirth and social amusements, and thus "turning the people's hearts." But while they were denied what the King terms "lawful recreations," they had substituted some vicious ones. Alehouses were more frequented, drunkenness more general, tale-mongery and sedition, the vices of sedentary idleness,

In prosecuting his journey to London, James contrived to enjoy a great deal of his favourite amusement, by directing his course through the royal forests of Sherwood and Needwood, whither he had previously caused his hounds to be dispatched to meet him.

'James, our Royall King, would ride a hunting
To the greene forest so pleasant and faire;
To see the hart skipping and dainty does tripping;
Unto merry Sherwood his nobles repaire:
Hawke and hound were unbound and all things prepared,
For the game, in the same, with good regard.
All a long summer day rode the King pleasantly,
With all his Princes and Nobles eache one,
Chasing the hart and hinde, and the bucke gallantlye,
Till the dark evening forced them all to turn home."*

He returned to London on Holyrood day (the 13th of September), having been exactly six months absent.

It now remains to be seen what success he was destined to have in the project of reducing the Scotch church to conformity with that of England —the grand object of his journey.

The present writer presumes it to be an evident fact, that, since the Reformation, the tendency of popular feeling in both countries has prevailed, while a fanatical gloom was spreading over the country. The King, whose gaiety of temper instantly sympathised with the multitude, and perhaps alarmed at this new shape which Puritanism was assuming, published "the Book of Sports," which soon obtained the contemptuous term of "*the Dancing Book.*"'

* *Ballad of the King and Miller of Mansfield.*

ther been favourable to a further excision of ceremonies and external symbols from religion, than to a return to any which were cut off at that era, and that the reformed Church of England, with its numerous abuses, or at least inutilities, has rather been indebted for its continued existence, to the inextricable admixture of its parts with the framework of the state, than to any favour which it enjoys among the people as a means by which they may procure religious instruction. These points being granted, he scarcely requires to point out how difficult a task it must have been for King James, to impose upon the expressly popular Church of Scotland, any of the characteristics of an establishment which has always been, confessedly, little more than an engine of state.

The form in which he laid his wishes before the Scottish Parliament, was a proposal for an act, empowering him, with his bishops, to frame the laws and customs of the church. Eventually, on discovering that a number of the clergy intended to protest against such a statute, he thought proper to forbear presenting it, and was induced, for the sake of soothing all existing prejudices, to submit his desires in the first place to the consideration of a General Assembly. Having by this means got him to leave the country, the clergy assembled at St Andrews in November; when, being recovered a little from the overpowering influence of his personal presence, they could only be prevailed upon by commissioners to sanction two of the points of conformity that he desired of them—to administer the sacrament in private to sick persons, and, in its ordinary dispensation, to give the elements from the hands of the ministers

at a table. This admission, so far short of what he expected, drew from him an angry letter, wherein he informed them, that he 'was come to that age when he would not be content to be fed with broth, as one of their coat was wont to speak,' and that, since they had so far contemned the moderate measures he had taken with them, they should now find what it was to draw down the anger of a king. He proceeded to put his threat in execution, by suspending the additional stipends which he had granted them, and by imprisoning one or two whose violent opposition had brought them under the censure of his court of high commission. The effect of this severity was such, that, in a second General Assembly, held at Perth in August 1618, they sanctioned five innovatory articles which he presented to them—for keeping up five holidays in the year, kneeling at the sacrament, confirmation of children, and the administration of the two sacraments in private houses. With this, and with the virtual ascendency which he had obtained over the clergy, he was for the time content. But it is said that, in hardly any parish in the kingdom, were the Perth articles really observed. A thousand expedients were devised for evading them. Men in office absented themselves from church on communion-days, on pretence of sickness; no children came forward to be confirmed; people never called the clergy to their houses to administer either sacrament; and not a shop was ever shut on the holidays, Christmas and Easter not excepted. When an individual of the present age considers the innocent and perhaps laudable nature of these innovations, and observes with what loathing they were regarded by the people of Scotland, he is apt to

be reminded of the exclamations of the French cook in the novel, forced to prepare a feast after the manner of the ancients; who, as we are told, was heard exclaiming, from the profundities of his kitchen, while his master stood over him with a drawn sword, "Spare me—spare me the garlic and oil!"

This is the last circumstance of note that took place in regard to Scotland during the reign of King James. With the exception of the detestation in which his attempts upon the church were beheld, it may be said, that his reign over that country between 1603 and the period of his death was a popular one, as it unquestionably was happy for his people. If his successor could have prosecuted the design of equalizing the Anglican and Scotican churches with the same moderation and gentleness of spirit, we should never have heard of the Covenant or its wars, and might have seen the civilization of the people began nearly a century earlier than the time when it afterwards did actually commence.

CHAPTER X.

EXPEDITION OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH.—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE—CASE OF LADY LAKE.

1617—1620.

For nearly a twelvemonth after the King's visit to Scotland, his life was spent in its usual tranquillity and notelessness, or was only enlivened by the negotiations which he thought proper to carry on for the marriage of his son Charles to one of the daughters of the King of Spain. In the summer, however, of 1618, he was vexed by a cruel necessity which occurred, of inflicting legal vengeance on Sir Walter Raleigh.

This knight had been condemned, it will be recollected, in the very year of the King's accession, for his concern in the mysterious plot of the Lords Cobham and Grey. Since then, instead of suffering the death to which he was sentenced, he had been kept in close confinement in the Tower, for the greater part of the time, in enjoyment of his estates. James has been much censured for his cruelty to this gifted individual; and a saying of Prince Henry is often quoted, that none but his father would have kept such a bird in a cage. But as nothing is known of the secret state reasons

which the King must have had for his severity, censure ought to be hesitatingly applied. In 1616, by a concurrence of favourable circumstances, among which the purchased interference of some of Buckingham's relations was not the least, Sir Walter was able to persuade the King to liberate him from the Tower, and at the same time to give him a royal commission to conduct an expedition to a certain part of Guiana, in South America, where he was confident of being able to work a gold mine, with which he was acquainted, to great advantage. Though this commission conferred upon him a power of life and death over his sailors, it did not comprehend a pardon of his own offences, the King thinking it prudent to retain the sentence as a kind of check upon him, the more necessary as he suspected him of entertaining designs of a less innocent nature than those of working a mine. How James yielded to give any trust to a man under such circumstances, and of whom he entertained suspicions, is only to be accounted for by a reference to his easy nature, which could seldom effectually resist continued solicitations, and partly perhaps by the compact which Raleigh made with him, to give up to the royal treasury a fifth part of all the gold that might be found. If James was imposed upon in aught by the plausible representations of his prisoner, he had many companions in deception; for Raleigh gathered into his company some scores of the younger sons of the best gentry, who embarked their whole fortunes in his project. But the truth is, the King never entertained any high expectations of what Sir Walter should do. He seems all along to have penetrated into the fanciful and unprincipled character of

this man, which has passed with posterity for something so much the reverse of what it really was. It is said, that, on being released—which event happened about the time that Somerset was imprisoned—he remarked, that 'the whole history of the world * had not the like precedent, of a king's prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, but in Scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman:' which being reported to the King, his Majesty drily replied, that 'Raleigh might die in that deceit;' a saying which he caused to become prophetic. It is just, indeed, likely, that a character like Raleigh's, which was simply that of a clever and unscrupulous adventurer, would be at once the most odious possible to the open, honest, unpretending nature of the King, and the most pervious to his extraordinary power of unriddling hidden characters. In a declaration which James afterwards published, to explain his conduct in the case of Raleigh, he mentions, that he did not think it proper to forbid an expedition which was undertaken at the expense, and for the profit of his subjects, especially at a time when the peaceful and prosperous condition of the country afforded so good an opportunity of establishing distant colonies, and prosecuting remote branches of trade.

There seems little reason to doubt that Raleigh, from the first, rather contemplated the design of acting as a privateer in the Spanish settlements, than of peacefully digging the mine which he had described to King James. Facts, at least, run

* He had just been engaged in the composition of a work under that title.

strongly against him. He never had seen the mine in question: he was only informed of it by a sailor of the name of Keymis, whose sole proof of its existence was a lump of ore which he exhibited! He also knew that the Spaniards had settled and planted a town, at the place described, so as to destroy, of course, the obsolete and visionary claim which he set forth to the coast, on the plea of having landed upon it twenty-three years before. In the fitting out of his expedition, he decidedly manifested hostile intentions; for he carried with him thirteen armed vessels. He had always talked of receiving a number of miners when he should rendezvous at Plymouth; but he eventually sailed without taking one on board: the whole company was of a military description. He was also heard, before he quitted London, to drop hints of a certain town in those parts, 'upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, if there were no other spoil.'

So strong were appearances against him, that the Spanish resident, Count de Gondemar, found it necessary to remonstrate, in the most earnest terms, against his being permitted to sail; and James was obliged, before he went away, to exact a solemn engagement from him, that he should not offer the least molestation to any of the settlements of that nation. The King has been a thousand times ridiculed for showing so much deference to Spain, while Raleigh has been applauded for his intentions, supposing he entertained them, of attacking its settlements. But, even allowing that the King displayed weakness in his matrimonial negotiations with Spain, could he be considered as doing a wrong or a weak thing, if he took mea-

sures for preventing one of his subjects from opening a private war with a nation with which he was at peace? It may be very delightful to national prejudice, to reflect on the gallantry, as it may be called, of an individual Briton, who warred single-handed against a foreign power, which, in the dreadfully misused language of a past time, was the *natural enemy* of England. But, only suppose the case reversed; conceive a brave Hidalgo fitting out an expedition, in a time of peace, to attack Virginia or Delaware, could *we* have blamed the King of Spain, whether or not he had been wishing to marry his son to a princess of England, for interfering to prevent what would, in that case, have appeared to us so gross a violation of the law of nations?

James has been cruelly misrepresented, in almost every stage of this unhappy affair. He is charged with meanness of spirit in apprising Gondemar of the strength and resources of Sir Walter Raleigh; information which enabled the Spanish court to strengthen the points where it had reason to dread his attack. But this was only a fair and manly way of testifying to Spain, that no hostile intentions were entertained. It has strangely escaped the observation of the apologists of Raleigh, that, if his designs had really been innocent, such a betrayal, as it has been termed, could do him no harm. It only could operate to his disadvantage, in the event of his proceeding to those hostile measures, which he had engaged not to resort to.

The expedition sailed at the end of March 1617, while the King was on his journey to Scotland; and, after an unpleasant and somewhat disastrous voyage, it reached the mouth of the Oroonoko, up-

on the banks of which river the mine was said to be. Raleigh, being either sick or pretending to be so, * sent five vessels up the river, under the command of Keymis, each vessel being manned with fifty men. As this detachment passed along, it was assailed with shot fired by the Spaniards from the shore; the settlers being naturally alarmed at this invasion, which was the more unjustifiable as there was enough of room along the coast of the new world for colonists of all countries, without thus jostling each other. On arriving at the place where the mine was described to be, a Spanish town called St Thomas was found to occupy the shore; and it seemed that there was no chance of attaining their ends without first fighting with the inhabitants, who were ranged on the banks to receive them. Whether such an encounter had been contemplated from the beginning, cannot be ascertained; but it is certain that little deliberation or ceremony was used in putting it into execution. Keymis, assisted by Walter Raleigh, son of the commander, led the troops ashore, and commenced a spirited attack upon the Spaniards; the latter crying, it is said, that 'this (meaning the town) was the real mine they had come to explore, and none but fools ever expected any other.' The English beat back the colonists with great slaughter, plundered their town, set fire to it, and soon laid waste a scene, which had but a little before exhibited every symptom of prosperity and happiness. The son of Raleigh fell in the onset. Keymis soon after made an attempt to reach the

* His pretence of being sick on his journey to London, proves that he was capable of also pretending in this case.

mine; but, being beaten in a chance skirmish with a party of the settlers, he lost heart before attaining the desired spot, and, retreating on board his ships, returned to Raleigh, to inform him of the death of his eldest son, and the failure of the whole enterprise.

So general was now the impression of Raleigh's turpitude among his associates, that he no longer could exert any command over them, far less persuade them to renew the attempt upon the Spanish settlements. He would have gladly carried them to France, to Newfoundland, or to any other place than Great Britain; but they compelled him to return to that country—though perhaps without entertaining the wish of bringing him to condign punishment. He arrived at Plymouth, with a ruined fleet, and a much reduced company, in July 1618; before which time, in consequence of the representations of the Spanish government, the King had issued a proclamation, condemning his proceedings in the most unqualified language. No sooner was it known at London that he had arrived, than Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-admiral of the county of Devon, a kinsman of his own, was sent down to take him into custody. Being seized at Ashburnham, on his way to London, he was speedily conveyed towards that city, but not without making several attempts by the way to escape, some of them under such mean circumstances of artifice as could scarcely be believed by those who hold up this man as a pattern of English bravery. Sir Lewis Stukely, with a meanness far less justifiable, permitted him on one occasion to escape so far, for the purpose of proving to the public that he was not confident of his own innocence.

He was once more committed to the Tower, from which, two years before, he had been liberated under such extraordinary circumstances; and it was soon evident that he could entertain no hope of escaping death. 'For these his great and heinous offences,' says the King in his declaration, 'in acts of hostility upon his Majesty's confederates; depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission, as of his Majesty's subjects under his charge; impostures, attempts of escape, declining his Majesty's justice, and the rest, evidently proved, or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of his Majesty's further mercy; and because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law, (whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*), his Majesty was inforced (unless attainders should become privileges for all subsequent offences) to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.'

Raleigh accordingly suffered death in Westminster Palace Yard, October 29, which day was selected, it is said, because the Lord Mayor's show, occurring at the time of the execution, was expected to draw away the people from witnessing an instance of public justice in which they could not be expected to sympathize. Raleigh, from the many brilliant points in his character, and from his being supposed to suffer chiefly at the instigation of a detested foreign power, has been held up as next thing to a martyr; but, till it can be proved that he entertained no piratical intentions against the Spanish settlers, or that the people of that nation are not men, and entitled to the rights of men as well as the English, it must remain a fixed

point with the writer of these pages, that the King did no more than justice in putting him to death. The probability is, however, that, but for the sympathy which literary men in general bear towards a suffering individual of their own order—but for the respect which all men entertain for talent, in whatever character enshrined—we should have never seen it questioned that Raleigh only suffered what was due to his crimes. *

The King's life, for two or three years after this affair, is distinguished only by private or domestic incidents, or by the symptoms of age and dotage which were now fast advancing upon him. That dotage was exemplified by nothing so remarkable, as by the inordinate affection he entertained for Buckingham, who was about this time created Marquess.

Buckingham, as already related, was a young man of singularly prepossessing exterior, inso-

* 'One Mr Wiemark, a wealthy man, great novilant [*Puritan*], and constant Paul's Walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh, "His head," said he, "would do very well on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State."' [Sir Robert was a good man, but, according to a saying here very appropriate, no great *headpiece*.] 'These words were complained of, and Wiemark summoned to the Privy Council, where he pleaded for himself, that he intended no disrespect to Mr Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; only, he spake in reference to the old proverb, *Two heads are better than one*: And for that present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called upon for a contribution to St Paul's, Weimark at the Council-table subscribed a hundred pounds; but Mr Secretary told him two hundred were better than one, which between fear and charity, Wiemark was fain to subscribe.'—*Fuller's Worthies.*

much, it is said, as to be almost all that a devout imagination could have conceived of an angel. The King, it will be recollected, had been struck by his delicate regular features, which he esteemed the surest index of an ingenuous and amiable character; and had been induced by that notion, which he partly found justified by acquaintance, to elevate him from his obscure condition to the nearest seat beside the throne. Sir Simon D'Ewes, who is generally esteemed a sensible writer, justifies the monarch so far in this strange proceeding, by saying that the countenance of Buckingham was such as to impress a strong conviction of the affability and gentleness of his nature.* He was also justified, for some years, by the excellent conduct of the youth. Buckingham was originally possessed of the sweetest dispositions, and acted to all persons with the greatest generosity: it was only when burdened with more weighty affairs than he had abilities to manage, and when the tongues of flattering courtiers had, as it were, licked away the feet from his understanding, that he began to deserve the historical maledictions he has since received.

The anecdotes related by news-mongers of the period, to show how completely James reposed upon his favourite, would seem to indicate a great extent of weakness. At a dinner which Buckingham gave him, in July 1618, he drank particularly to every one of the host's numerous relations, and afterwards sent to each individual some message of affection. When dinner was done, he rose

* Sir Simon informs us, that the *hands* of Buckingham were especially curious and beautiful.

up, and, approaching the table where all the guests besides himself were seated, drank a common health to them all over; saying, that he desired to advance the family of Villiers above all others, *that he lived but for that end*, and that he hoped his posterity would perfect it so far as he should leave it unfinished. At another feast, given by Lady Hatton, 'the principal graces and favours lighted on Lady Compton (mother of Buckingham *) and her children, whom the King praised and kissed, and blessed all those that wished them well.' † The person who records this circumstance, informs us that, in December 1617, he was afflicted with a fit of moroseness, on account of deranged health; 'yet was never so much out of tune, but the very sight of my Lord of Buckingham would settle and quiet all.' He also tells us, that his Majesty once nearly killed a Lord Mayor by the vehemence and indefatigability with which he persecuted the poor man to get his daughter as a match to one of the favourite's brothers. Sir Sebastian Harvey, says he, 'was prevented from attending, ‡ being very sick and surfeited upon messages sent him by the King about his only daughter, whom the Countess of Buckingham will needs have for her son Christopher. The Mayor, a wilful dogged man, will not yield by any means, fair or foul, as yet, and wishes himself and his daughter both dead, rather than be compelled. The truth is, she is not past fourteen, and very little of growth, so that he pro-

* Afterwards made Countess of Buckingham in her own right. She is here called Lady Compton, from her second husband, Sir Thomas Compton.

† Winwood's Memorials.

‡ A civic ceremony.

tests he will not marry her these four or five years by his will. But yet he hath taken the King's messages so to heart, that he hath been at death's door, and is not yet recovered; though the Duke of Lennox and Marquis of Buckingham have been severally with him, besides divers others from the King, to comfort him.' James afterwards paid the worthy Mayor a personal visit on the same account, but without success.

It is one of the most surprising things about this system of favouritism, that we find Buckingham, to appearance, almost as acceptable to the Queen, the Prince, and the most eminent personages about the Court, as to King James. There are many letters extant, between Anne and Buckingham, written in a tone of kind regard on the one hand, and devout respect on the other; the queen generally addressing the favourite by the epithet, 'Dear dog.' From many circumstances, but especially that of Buckingham's continuance in favour after James's death, it is also evident that a real friendship subsisted betwixt him and Prince Charles; the latter of whom, in 1618, was glad to employ the former, in interceding for a restoration to his Majesty's good graces, after having lost them for a small offence.* We also find the intellectual Bacon, and the most ancient and haughty of the nobility, gladly prostrating themselves before this handsome, but ordinary-minded upstart.

There were some exceptions to the general conduct, chiefly in persons who had happened to

* The offence of having taken measures to prevail upon the Queen to make him her chief legatee.

quarrel with the minion. Such individuals, knowing they could never reach the King's ear, or partake of his patronage, so long as Buckingham was triumphant, took a lesson from the circumstances of his rise, and endeavoured to oust him, by engaging the King's affections upon some other object. It will perhaps be scarcely believed, that many honourable persons employed themselves, for this end, in trimming up and pushing forward lads with smooth faces and handsome persons, whom they took under their charge, and who, they thought, might perhaps be successful in catching the royal eye. Among others were Sir Henry Mildmay, (afterwards one of the judges of King Charles,) William Brooke, son of the George Brooke executed at Winchester in 1603, and one Monson, son of Sir William Monson. 'This mustering of minions, and pressing so fast forward,' says Mr Chamberlain, in a letter dated February 21, 1618, 'makes the world suspect it is toward a turning water.' No conjecture, however, could be more erroneous. James, blind as he was to Buckingham, was perspicacious enough in regard to his rivals. On the 28th, Mr Chamberlain writes, 'Most of our young court gentlemen are vanished like mushroons; for the day before the King's going to Theobald's, the Lord Chamberlain, by express order, told young Monson, that the King did not like his forwardness, and presenting himself continually about him. His education had been in such places, and with such persons, * as was not to be allowed of. Therefore his Majesty willed him henceforth to forbear

* Probably Puritans are meant.

his presence; and, if he would follow his (the Lord Chamberlain's advice), he would forbear the court also. This was a shrewd reprimand and cross blow to some who, they say, made account to raise and recover their fortunes by setting up this idol, and took great pains in pricking and pranking him up, *besides washing his face every day with posset-curd!*' *

* In the Advocates' Library are many original letters written by Buckingham and King James to each other, some of which have been printed by Lord Hailes, while others, by coarseness of language, are quite unfitted for publication. Buckingham always addresses the King by the epithet, 'Dear dad and gossip,' and generally subscribes himself, 'Your majesties most humble slave and dog, Stinie.' According to Dr Welwood, who (in a note, Compleat History of England, ii. 697.) alludes to these or other letters, James generally addresses Buckingham as his dear child and gossip, and subscribes himself his dear dad and gossip, or dear dad and steward. Here is a specimen of James's part of the correspondence.

'MY ONLY SWEET AND DEAR CHILD,

'Blessing, blessing, blessing, on thy heart's roots and all thine, this Thursday morning. Here is great store of game, as they say, partridges and stoncouleurs: I know who shall get their part of them; and here is the finest company of young hounds that ever was seen. God bless the sweet master of my harriers, that made them be so well kept all this summer; I mean Tom Badger. I assure myself, thou wilt punctually observe the dyet and journey I set thee down in my first letter from Theobald's. God bless thee and my sweet Kate and Mall, to the comfort of thy

'Dear dad,

'JAMES, R.'

'P. S.—Let my last compliment settle to thy heart, till we have a sweet and comfortable meeting, which God send, and give thee grace to bid the drogues adieu this day.'

The following passage from one of Buckingham's epis-

The people of England were alarmed to a great degree in the fall of the year 1618, by a comet, which appeared in the constellation Libra, and was so large as to extend over forty-five degrees of the heavens. At that period, the appearance of such strangers in the sky was universally believed to prognosticate evil to the inhabitants of the earth; and the present was of such an alarming appearance, as to excite peculiar apprehensions. James alone, it would appear, out of all his people, had the strength of mind to discountenance such notions. Sir Philip Mainwaring in a letter, states, as a wonder, that 'he takes no more notice of the *blazing starre* than he has alwayes done of the day-starre, nor will allow it be any other.' This is so much exculpatory evidence against those who accuse his Majesty of unwonted superstitiousness. *

tles, may be quoted as a corresponding specimen of *his* style, more especially as it includes a characteristic trait of the King.

'——— I here you have gott a good stomacke since your being there; but I fere your liberalitie doth not give you leave to eate a good bitt, being well acquainted with that ould custom of yours of *ever giving away the best.* We both (i. e. he and his wife) have fed of nothing els; and though they have all proved fat and tender, yet not being eten at your soncie luckie table, they wanted that sauce which makes all savourie.'

It is curious to observe here the Scotch phrases which the favourite, probably out of compliment, had taken up from the King. It should be mentioned, that James's superscription as Buckingham's 'dear steward,' was a pun on his own name. The King was perpetually sending presents of game, &c. to his favourite; hence he called himself his steward. Hence, also, Buckingham calls the King his 'kind purveyor.'

* It is so much more, that, for many years towards the end of his life, he had renounced the belief in witchcraft;

The comet of 1618 figures in a small poetical effort of Prince Charles, which, in consideration of the author, we shall here introduce. In the course of a progress in February 1619, the court spent some days at a house where there happened to reside for the time, Miss Anne Gawdy, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, daughter to Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy, of Harling in Norfolk, by a niece of the illustrious Bacon. This interesting person excited the admiration of all who attended the King; but no one entertained so enthusiastic a regard for her as Charles, at this period in his nineteenth year, and whose heart is supposed to have hitherto been unoccupied by any such passion. He expressed his estimation of Miss Gawdy by the following quatrain, containing an anagram upon her name, and involving, if no fine poetry, at least a very pretty compliment:

'Heaven's wonder late, but now Earth's glorious ray,
With wonder shines; that's gone, this, *new and gay*,
Still gazed on: in this is more than heaven's light;
Day obscured that; this makes the day more bright.'

The catastrophe which the people believed to be most immediately foretold by the comet, was the demise of Queen Anne, which event took place on the ensuing 2d of March. Her Majesty had been afflicted for more than a year with an inclination to dropsy. The progress of her illness was observed by the public with great concern. 'She is generally well-wished,' says a notator of pass-

an effort of intellect in which he was alone among his people, and that almost for a century. His acuteness in detecting impostures had probably enabled him to see through this miserable superstition.—*Fuller*.

ing events, * [October 22, 1617], and the care of her welfare makes the world more fearful.' 'Once there is hope,' says the same writer, [October 14, 1618,] 'she cannot do amiss that has so many good wishes.' Notwithstanding all their good wishes, her disorder ended fatally, on the day mentioned, at Hampton-Court Palace. Her Majesty would not believe that she was in serious danger till within a very few hours of her death; so that there was only time for a verbal will. By that document, she left the bulk of her fortune, supposed to amount in value to nearly 800,000*l.*, to her son. The King was confined at the time with severe illness at Newmarket: 'He took her death seemly,' says Sir Edward Howard in a letter; but it is known that the melancholy event greatly aggravated his distemper. Her Majesty, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, received a funeral which was designed to equal that of Queen Elizabeth in magnificence and expense.

Anne was one of those persons of whom it is almost impossible for an historian to say any thing, on account of the perfect notelessness of their character—one of those persons who, being only allied to history by marriage, or by accident, give little beside their names to adorn the historic page. The only good quality of her person was that of a fine skin: almost the only good quality of her mind was a pleasant disposition. The rest may be given in the words of Wilson. 'She was in her great condition a good woman, not tempted from that height she stood on, to embroil her spirit much with things below her (as some busy bodies do),

* Birch's MSS. apud Nicholl's Progresses.

only giving herself content in her own house with such recreations as might not make time tedious to her: and though great persons actions are often pried into, and made envy's mark, yet nothing could be fixed upon her, that left any great impression, but that she may have engraven upon her monument a character of virtue.' She was a remarkably affable queen, and very gracious to the people when she appeared abroad, frequently bowing, smiling, and talking to them, from her carriage; which caused her to be called 'the *good* Queen Anne.' There is a portrait of her in Strutt's Costumes, representing her in the dress and decorations of the age—a long waist, wide sleeves, and enormous farthingale, all bedizened over with strings of jewels—the whole figure as stiff and unnatural as a peacock. It is said to have been she who introduced the farthingale into England, and, by consequence, the hoop. Her jewels are stated to have been valued at her death at 400,000*l.*; the half of her whole fortune. Her property, however, was much dilapidated by servants, before it came into the hands of her heir.

The ostensible ailments of the King at this time were gout and defluxions upon his knees;* which almost deprived him of the use of his limbs. But the chief malady was probably more of a mental than of a bodily nature, arising out of grief for his wife's death, vexation about the imprudence of his son-in-law the Elector Palatine, and troubles on the subject of the Spanish match. 'The world,' says Mr Chamberlain, 'is tenderly affected towards him, and I assure you all men apprehend

* About this time he had a second attack of stone.

what a loss we should have if God should take him from us, and do earnestly enquire, and in general heartily wish and pray, for his welfare.' On the 10th of April, about six weeks after the Queen's decease, the symptoms were so violent, that he himself apprehended immediate dissolution, and 'prepared to settle things as if he were to leave all, and to that end made an excellent speech to the Prince before all the Lords then present;' in particular, recommending him to keep company with bishops. His conduct on this occasion was manly and king-like. On getting somewhat better a few days afterwards, he removed to Roystoun, carried all the way in a chair by his guard. Subsequently, he was transported to Theobald's in a litter; where, 'as weak and weary as he was, he would not settle within doors till he had his deer brought to make a muster before him;'* a remarkable instance of the ruling passion, strong under the most discouraging circumstances. Here he was fortunately able to recover the use of his limbs, to a certain extent, by a strange expedient—bathing them amidst the warm bowels of the deer after the animal was hunted down and cut open. With his usual imprudence, he was no sooner a little relieved than, spite of all that his physicians could say, he resumed his habitual bad practice of eating fruits and drinking sweet wines. †

* Mr Chamberlain, *Winwood.*

† May 1619. The King was at this time more than once way-laid in his parks by religious madmen, who delivered messages to him as from God in loud oracular voices—no doubt, to his Majesty's great annoyance. One Weekes, who had been a soldier abroad, came up to him one day in Theobald's Park, crying, "Stand, O King," and adding, when the King stopped, "Thus saith the Lord, have I not brought thee out of a land of famine and hunger,

He does not seem to have long worn mournings for his consort. On the 1st of June, within three months of her decease, he made his first entry into London after his illness, 'fresh in a suit of watchet satin, laid with a blue and white feather; as also his horse was furnisht with the like, both before and behind; insomuch that all the company was glad to see him look so gallant, and *more like a wooer than a mourner*.' On this occasion, almost all the public bodies in London testified their joy in his recovery, by congratulations—including the whole *choir* of the judges and lawyers, as he was pleased to term them.

James, about this time, exercised his faculty of detecting impostures, in one of the most remarkable cases of defamation that ever fell under the notice of English law. The Earl of Exeter, elder brother of the late Secretary Cecil, married in his old age a young and amiable lady, who unfortunately quarrelled soon after with Lady Roos, wife of the Earl's grandson, by his first marriage. This Lady Roos was a daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, one of the King's Secretaries. She, in concert with her mother Lady Lake, formed the diabolical design of ruining the Countess, by accusing her of having had an intrigue with Lord Roos, who

into a land of plenty and abundance? Ought'st thou not therefore to have judged my people with righteous judgment? But thou hast perverted judgment, and not relieved the oppressed. Therefore, unless thou repent, God hath rent the kingdom from thee and thy posterity after thee!" Being taken into custody and examined, he declared himself a priest of the order of Melchisedec. From his description of Scotland, no *Scotchman* could doubt for a moment that he was a lying prophet, or mad. Such was the immediate impression of the King, and the poor wretch was consigned to Bedlam.

was now abroad on a foreign embassy. On this charge becoming matter of public conversation, the King called the parties singly before him, and examined them; when the Countess asseverated her innocence with tears and imprecations, against which Lady Lake and Lady Roos produced a letter, apparently signed by her own hand, in which she confessed her guilt. James immediately dispatched a sergeant-at-arms to Rome, to subject Lord Roos to an examination; and that nobleman sent back testimonials respectably signed, to attest that there was no foundation for the charge. As there was still a doubt, however, about this evidence, he resolved to prosecute the inquiry. The question finally seemed to hinge on the soothfastness of a chambermaid, who was brought forward by the accusing ladies, to swear that she had overheard the letter dictated by them to the Countess, as an apology, from behind the hangings of a particular window in the hall of the Earl of Exeter's house of Wimbledon. James thought proper to digress one day from a hunting-match, in order to inspect the hall where this transaction was said to have taken place. Placing himself where the chambermaid was said to have stood, he ascertained that it was impossible from that point to overhear what was spoken by even a loud voice at the place where the parties were represented as having been seated; and, furthermore, from the shortness of the hangings, he saw that no person could have been concealed in such a place. "Oaths," said he, on this discovery, "cannot confound my sight;" and he resolved to subject the whole matter to a trial in the Star-chamber. So eager was he in this proceeding, that he sat for several days in the court, as president, three, four,

and five hours at a time. The result was a verdict in favour of the injured Countess, with heavy fines imposed upon the guilty ladies.

The circumstance most to be lamented about this case, was, that all the punishment fell upon Sir Thomas Lake, who was a man of great worth and respectability, and only unfortunate in having such a wife and daughter. The King had previously advised him not to take part in the accusation laid by the ladies; but he nobly said, that he could not refuse to be a husband and a father, and, so putting his name with theirs in a cross bill, was condemned as a party, and onerated to pay all the fines. The affair cost him altogether 30,000*l*., and lost him all his places, as well as the King's favour. James took occasion, in pronouncing judgment, to pass a severe censure upon the fair sex, and especially upon such of them as, like the condemned parties present, were of the Romish religion. 'He exhorted the judges,' says an unceremonious court gossip, 'to have a special care of the Papists, and likewise of their wives; for he said the women were the nourishers of Papistry in this kingdom, and a Papist woman and a . . . . . were *voces convertibiles;* which our Catholic ladies take very ill.' What strange language, the reader will say, to be used by a prince who was in treaty for a Catholic princess as a wife to his son! But his persecution of the sex by no means stopped here. For some time after, we find him taking every opportunity of declaiming against what he calls 'high-handed women.' He actually set a fashion on the subject in society. 'Our pulpits,' says a letter-writer, February 1620, 'ring continually of the insolency and impudence of wo-

men; and, to help forward, the players have likewise taken them to task; so that they can come no where but their ears tingle. And all this will not serve; the King threatens to fall upon their parents, husbands, or friends, that have or should have power over them, and make *them* pay for it.' James's antipathy to the more masculine of the sex has already been remarked. It is exceedingly amusing to observe, that, in a conversation about this time with the Earl of Salisbury, who had an audience on the occasion of his marriage, he cross-questions the young peer about his wife, from a wish to ascertain whether she was a simple good matron, or a '*high-handed*' dame.*

* His antipathy or indifference to women was partly natural; but it was much exaggerated at this period, by an attempt which was made by a Roman Catholic lady, to found a female school of Jesuits for the propagation of their faith. Some curious traits of his behaviour to ladies are found in the following extract from a Harleian manuscript, which refers to the meeting of the parliament of 1621:—

'In the King's short progress from Whitehall to Westminster, these passages following were accounted somewhat remarkable:—First, that he spake often and lovingly to the people standing thick and threefold on all sides to behold him: "God bless ye! God bless ye!" contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often, in his sudden distemper, would bid a pox or plague on such as flocked to see him. Secondly, that though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet he spake to none of them but to the Marquis of Buckingham's mother and wife. Thirdly, that he spake particularly and bowed to the Count of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador; and fourthly, that, looking up to one window as he passed, full of gentlemen and ladies, all in yellow bands, he cried aloud, "A pox take ye, are ye there!" at which, being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window.'

CHAPTER XI.

THE SPANISH MATCH.

1620–1623.

It has just been mentioned, that James experienced much uneasiness about this time, on the double account of the affairs of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and of the Spanish match which he wished to obtain for his son. The case was simply as follows:—The Elector Palatine, the Protestant ruler of one of the provinces of Germany, had been induced to put himself at the head of the neighbouring nation of the Bohemians, who were in a state of rebellion against their superior the Emperor of Germany. By taking that step, it will be observed that the Elector was guilty of the same indiscretion as the Bohemians, because he was also the vassal of the Emperor. Being unsuccessful in his attempt, he was, quite in the natural course of things, expelled not only from his usurped rule over Bohemia, but also from his patrimonial dominions on the Rhine.

The character of the Elector Palatine was not one calculated to interest the feelings. He was sordid and mean-spirited, the most unkingly of all vices, and those which are perhaps most despised

of all others in every class of men. One fact in his history ought to put him beyond the pale of sympathy :—When returning from Amsterdam, which he had visited, in order to look after some hoards in the bank of that city, having chosen for frugality the common packet-boat, overloaded with merchandise, the vessel overset; his eldest son, who accompanied him, clung to the rigging, but being unable to endure the rigour of the cold, was found the next morning frozen to death, and half immersed in the water. He is also supposed to have lost the battle of Prague, by which his fortunes were decided, in consequence of some ill-timed economy. Neither personal character, however, nor the merits of his cause, were ever taken into account by the English people in judging of the King's conduct in regard to him. They saw in him only a Protestant suffering at the hands of a Catholic, and, without a moment's consideration as to which was in the wrong, they at once, and most unanimously, advocated a crusade in his favour.

King James took a cooler view of the case. He considered the conduct of the Bohemians and their pretended sovereign as a reprehensible rising of the subjects against their superior. He was also offended at the Elector for having taken such a step without consulting him, more especially as he professed to have proceeded in expectation of assistance from Great Britain. Perhaps he also knew the character of his son-in-law better than his subjects did, and might not feel himself inspired by that enthusiastic partisanship which they displayed in his favour. There were also considerations of the good of his country, which might incline the

King to hesitate before throwing himself and his people into a war, the object of which, even if fully and victoriously accomplished, could, after all, only gratify their desire of cutting and slashing a different denomination of Christians. Where was the money to carry on a war? What was the end to be served by it?

It might be the subject of a deeply interesting treatise, to inquire into the motives which the English have had for all their wars since the Reformation. First, there come the wars of Elizabeth's time, undertaken for the purpose of enabling the Dutch to praise God and cheat mankind in their own cold-blooded way. Then there was the war with Spain, in the end of James's reign and the beginning of that of Charles, the object of which was to give the Protestant spirit of persecution some exercise against the Catholics. Next, were the Civil Wars, which, like the stroke of God upon Egypt, took a victim from every family in the nation, and left it at the Restoration under deeper tyranny than that from which it had been struggling to free itself. Then there were wars against the scoundrel Dutch, for the purpose of undoing all that had been done sixty years before. The wars of King William follow, which again gratified the public with the pleasure of belabouring the Catholics;—and here came in the grand novelty of fighting upon credit. The wars of Queen Anne had the same end, and were carried on by the same means. We still have the pleasure of paying a yearly sum for the gratification and the glory which our great-grandfathers derived from this source: We still pay each our penny for the thwacks bestowed by Marlborough upon the shoul-

ders of the Grand Monarque. The wars of George the Second, in support of the Emperor of Germany, were all of the same complexion; still the grand object was to vent our spite at the children of the Pope, and advance the interests of those who, like ourselves, have had the good sense to abjure him. The wars since that period have had ends partaking more of this world. Yet it is surprising to think that men may still be alive who fought against the ancient bugbear of Rome—against an idea which, in the present generation, haunts only the minds of old women. It is surprising to think, that the history of the nation for two centuries should be that of religious contentions, ending in no good result; and that, till very lately, men devoted the best energies of their minds, and did not scruple to impose pecuniary obligations upon their remotest posterity, for the insane purpose of gratifying merely devotional predilections.*

As the world now enters into wars for ends a little more discreet than formerly, it may be at a loss to conceive the popular feeling of the age under re-

* One gratification, we must allow, is left to us who pay for these frolics of our forefathers. It is not likely, after the lessons which those respected personages have left to us, that another drop of blood will ever be spilt in Europe on the same account. The world, 'older now and wiser grown,' has at length, to all appearance, got into a habit of considering every thing with an express view to its probable effects upon the real, practical, solid interests of the community. And it is improbable that we shall ever again discompose ourselves, to challenge a nation for its situation on the other side of a narrow channel, or the different way which its clergy has of putting on their gowns.

view, which tended so violently towards a contest with the Catholic powers of Europe. The truth is, England at that time was like a man who, having just escaped from a great and imminent danger, starts and draws his sword, for some time after, at every little noise he hears, or every time his elbow is touched by accident. The nation still tingled in every fibre from the excitement of the two ages which succeeded the Reformation: they still recollected with horror the frights of St Bartholomew and the Armada; and, although the Catholic governments and individuals had alike, to all appearance, long given up all notion of proselytizing Britain by force, still the nation dreaded their machinations, still thought itself far from safe. From this fear, mingled with religious malice and the desire of revenge, the people with one voice urged that a war should be declared against Spain and Austria, in behalf of the Elector Palatine.

James, who could hardly ever procure the necessary money for his ordinary peacee-stablishment, and who was animated by wiser and less enthusiastic views, hesitated to gratify his subjects on this score, and adopted the more gentle expedient of endeavouring to re-instate his son-in-law, by matching his son Charles to the daughter of the King of Spain, who, from his near connection with the House of Austria, seemed able to procure him that favour. It is generally asserted, that he betrayed an unnatural degree of indifference to the interests of his daughter and her unfortunate husband; and a story is told, that, on his forbidding the Palatine to be prayed for by his assumed title in the churches, the Prince of Orange remarked him to be a strange person, who would

neither fight nor pray for his children. There can be no doubt, however, that in reality, though sensible of the folly of that Prince, he took a strong interest in his fortunes, and indeed exerted himself as much, *in his own particular way*, in his favour, as a man of more warlike character could have done by arms. The numerous expensive embassies which he fitted out in his behalf, and the great troubles he encountered in negotiating the alliance with Spain, are sensible proofs of this. A particular anecdote may also be mentioned: On the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London applying to him to inquire if he would sanction their raising a loan of 100,000*l*., which the Palatine had begged of them, he answered that, though he could not expressly countenance such a proceeding, he should be extremely glad to see them do that, or any thing else, to serve his unfortunate relative.

James's line of conduct in this business, it must be observed, as in many other transactions of his life, was more apt to be of real practical service to the nation, than to excite its admiration or gratitude. The public, I am afraid, will always think more highly of the man who defends his head by hard blows, than of him who saves it by the law, or by soothing words to the assailant. Probably, if the religious desire of war with the Catholic powers had been altogether out of the question, his conduct could not have given satisfaction to so high-spirited a nation as the English. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that he was now assailed, in addition to his ordinary miseries, moral and physical, with the stinging one of public sarcasm and ridicule—that, in some caricatures, he was represented with a scabbard which wanted a sword; in

others, with a sword which several men seemed in vain endeavouring to withdraw from the scabbard; and in a third species, the humour of which was still more malicious, with a cradle in his arms, which he was lugging along after his unhappy daughter, she in her turn being set forth in the dress, or rather undress, of a poor Irishwoman, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child on her back. Or that, in some plays at Brussels, part of the dominions of his proposed ally the King of Spain, messengers were represented, as Wilson informs us, 'bringing news in haste, that the Palatinate was likely to have a very formidable army shortly on foot; the King of Denmark was to furnish him with a hundred thousand pickled herrings the Hollanders with a hundred thousand butter boxes, and England with a hundred thousand ambassadors!'

It was just when, in the midst of this disagreeable concatination of circumstances, (1621), that he was obliged, after an interval of seven years, to call a new parliament for the purpose of raising supplies. The parliaments of that time, it must be remarked, were amazingly fair representations of the public mind. They were, as expressly as could be supposed, the mouth-piece of the nation. As might be conjectured, he experienced from them nothing but censure for his foreign policy, and petitions against the Spanish match. The House of Commons thought it necessary to present a very free remonstrance to him, in regard to his late conduct in these matters; a liberty which he was disposed to resent in the sharpest terms. When the deputation came to present it, he bustled about in a great passion, though keeping up a face of the

utmost gravity, and called for chairs to accommodate the *twelve kings* who had come to visit him! It was not altogether without cause that he resented the impertinence of these parliamentary archons. As an instance of the absurdity of their demands, they gravely requested that he should take the children of Catholics out of the hands of their parents, and forcibly educate them under Protestant schoolmasters. They also pointed out the small Protestant princesses of Germany as presenting a good choice of mistresses for his son. James had too much sincere liberality of feeling to adopt the first measure, and was too proud to adopt the second*—which was, moreover, inauspicious from the fate of the Princess Elizabeth as wife of the Elector Palatine. After a great deal of unprofitable wrangling, he found it necessary to dissolve this turbulent assembly.

These unpleasant circumstances, joined to the pains of various acute diseases, seem to have nearly broken the formerly serene temper of the King; and he is said, by Wilson, to have given way, at this time, to the following, among other instances of ill humour. It being one day necessary to refer to some papers of importance relating to his negotiations with Spain, which had not been for some time in his hands, he set himself to recollect where, or in whose hands, he had deposited them; but, probably from the distempered condition of

* The prejudice which caused the King to reject every proposal of a match for his son under royal rank, was a branch of his grand prejudice about the divinity of Kings. He thought that it was necessary, in order to preserve that divinity to his posterity, that there should be no admixture of inferior blood in the race.

his mind, was unable for a long while to come to any conclusion regarding them. At length, it struck him that he had given the papers to John Gib, one of his old Scotch servants. Gib, however, denied having ever received them. The King stormed at this, and persisted in asseverating that Gib must have them; which caused the man to throw himself at his Majesty's feet, and offer himself for immediate death in the event of its being found that he had told an untruth. James not only disregarded the asseveration, but was actually provoked, in the heat of the moment, to give Gib a kick in passing. On this the servant rose up, with dignified and just anger, and said to the King, "Sir, I have served you from my youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deserved this from you, nor can I live longer with you after this disgrace: fare ye well, Sir; I will never see your face more." And accordingly he left the royal presence, took horse for London, and was soon far on his way. This unhappy affair was no sooner talked of in the court, than it came to the ears of Endymion Porter, another of James's confidential servants, who, immediately recollecting that the King had given him the papers, went and brought them to his Majesty. The behaviour of the monarch, on discovering his mistake, showed that a generous nature was at the bottom of all his absurdities. He immediately called for Gib. Answer was made that he had gone to London. "Then let him be overtaken, and called back with all expedition," cried the King, "for I protest I shall never again eat, drink, or sleep, till I see him." Gib being accordingly brought back, James knelt down upon

his knees before him (credite, posteri!) and, 'with a grave and sober face,' as Wilson relates the story, 'entreated his pardon, declaring he should not rise till he obtained it.' Gib, put to shame by this strange reversal of postures, endeavoured to raise his master; but James would, upon no account, rise till 'he heard the words of absolution pronounced.' It is added, that he made Gib no loser by the temporary demission of his place.

We are now arrived at that most remarkable part of James's life, the journey which his son made to Spain, in 1623, to see the Infanta. The King had now been treating for several years with Spain, for the double purpose of marrying Prince Charles, and getting the Elector Palatine re-instated. He had spent much money and much pains upon the negotiation, the only effect of which, as yet, was to render him unpopular and miserable. The Spanish court, either averse at heart from the match, or sincerely scrupulous on account of the different creeds of the parties, had put him off from year to year, under the pretext of difficulty as to the necessary dispensation from the Pope. His Catholic Majesty, the brother of the young lady, had now been brought almost to his last shift; and the treaty was on the point of being successfully closed by the Earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, when a new turn was given to the whole affair by the romantic adventure of Prince Charles.

The character of this personage seems to have been considerably different in youth from what it was in advanced life. It was now chiefly distinguished for a peculiar ductility and gentleness, which rendered him the slave of every stronger

mind within whose influence he came. Buckingham, not failing to observe the increasing infirmities of the King, had for some time past attached himself very much to the heir-apparent. His age being a few years greater than that of the prince, he became his tutor in all those branches of knowledge which the youth just springing into manhood naturally seeks from him who has recently attained it. They had become inseparable friends. Charles, besides being a youth of soft character, was given to romantic adventure. Like most men of taste and genius—and he certainly was one of the two—he was not disposed, at least at this early period of his life, to act in a manner exactly accordant with the usual routine of existence. The sun of chivalry, which set two ages before, still shed its soft twilight over him; and, though not so enthusiastic, probably, as to wish to become an actual mailed knight-errant, he cherished a good deal of the sentiment of that lustrous phrenzy, and coined his thoughts, at least, his hopes, and wishes, in the moulds which it had left.

Buckingham had begun to fear that, if Bristol should be permitted to accomplish the match by himself, he would thereby acquire so much favour and eclát as to prove a serious rival. He resolved that it should not be so; and the only expedient he could think of, was to induce the prince to accompany him to Spain, and there, with his more immediate assistance and counsel, conclude the negotiation in person. It required little persuasion to procure Charles's consent to such a scheme. He had only to represent the pleasure there would be in seeing the Princess before marriage, and gaining her heart before procuring her hand, the

glory which would result from such a violent eccentricity in the usual courtship of princes, and the charm of a tour through that poetic land—in that age, it must be remembered, the favourite field of romance—in order to make his Royal Highness as much in love with the project as himself. The only difficulty that then remained, was to procure the King's consent.

Clarendon has fortunately left a most minute and characteristic account of the interviews which the two young men had with Majesty before obtaining his permission. Taking an opportunity when nobody was with him but themselves, Charles threw himself upon his knees before him, and, explaining his wishes, entreated, in the most passionate language, for leave to carry them into execution. James was less surprised at the proposal than they expected—being probably familiarized with the idea, in consequence of the somewhat similar adventure of his own youth. He only looked, in his usual simple way, to the Marquess of Buckingham, as if to hear what he should say in regard to the scheme. Buckingham then gave his counsel at some length, the gist of which was, that *Baby Charles*—for so he was called by the King and Buckingham—should be permitted to go, because he had too earnestly set his heart upon it, to be safely forbidden. Charles, then perceiving some signs of a favourable disposition in his father's countenance, struck in with a detail of all the good effects which might result from his own personal presence in the Spanish court—the impulse which it would give to the negotiation, and the success it might have in securing the restitution of the Palatinate. Completely taken off

his guard, the monarch gave a kind of bewildered consent to his son's entreaties, in which at the first he was unable to see any thing but what they had represented, a prospect of speedily accomplishing what for some years had been the chief end of all his foreign policy.

A single night, however, served to make James sensible of the difficulties and dangers of the scheme, and when the two adventurers again approached him next day, he broke out into a passion of tears, telling them that he was undone, and should break his heart if they persisted in their resolution, that not only would the prince's person be hazarded by it, but the prospects of the match would probably be destroyed, while he himself should incur the reprobation of his subjects for consenting to it; and he ended a long harangue, as he had begun, with a violent fit of grief. Hereupon, the Marquess assumed a tone, which may well make us wonder at the extreme simplicity of the royal character. He told his Majesty, that nobody could believe a word he said; that he must have been furnished with *those pitiful reasons* he alleged against the journey, by some rascal to whom he had communicated their secret; and that, if he persisted in refusing to give his consent, it must create an irreparable breach between him and his son. James could not bear this. Rude language from Buckingham, and the fear of giving dispeace to his son, were too much to be endured at once. He therefore, a second time, gave an unwilling assent to the proposal.

It being then resolved that the Prince and Duke should set off immediately in disguise, and with only two attendants, the King called in Sir Francis

Cottington, the Prince's Secretary, who, from having been long in Spain, was judged fit to be of the party. Sir Francis having entered the room, James said to him, "Cottington, here is Baby Charles and Steenie, who have a great mind to go to Spain, to fetch home the Infanta, and will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Cottington, as he afterwards acknowledged, trembled so violently at the imprudence of the proposal, or the fear of offending some one or other of the parties present, that he could scarcely speak. On recovering a little, he candidly expressed an unfavourable opinion of the scheme, representing that it would tempt the Spaniards to take advantage of their possession of the prince's person, to force him into such terms as they pleased on the score of religion; by which the people of England would be implacably offended. Upon this the King's former fears revived, and he threw himself upon his bed in a renewed passion of tears, crying that he should lose Baby Charles, and be utterly undone.

Buckingham now fell into a rage with Cottington, and made no scruple to insult him with a torrent of abusive language. This gave a new turn to the poor King's emotions. He feared lest Cottington, for whom he entertained deserved respect, should come to mischief for his honest answer. "Nay, by God, Steenie," cried he, "you are very much to blame, to use him so. He answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in." After this strange *scene*, the King again yielded to the wishes of his two babies, and the plan of the journey was fully agreed upon.

They set forward on Tuesday, the 18th of February, disguised with false beards, and in the habiliments of ordinary gentlemen, the Marquess bearing the name of Mr Thomas Smith, and the Prince that of Mr John. Their only attendant at first was Sir Richard Graham, master of horse to the Marquess. As they crossed the Thames at Gravesend, (for it was from Newhall, in Essex, * that they set out), they were obliged, for want of silver, to give the ferryman a gold piece; which generosity overpowered him so completely, that, thinking they were about to cross the seas to fight a duel, and being quite melted with pity at such a thought, he gave information of them to the public authorities of the town. A person was accordingly dispatched after them to Rochester, to arrest them; and they only escaped by not halting at that town. On the brow of the hill beyond Rochester, they were greatly perplexed at seeing the French ambassador coming in the opposite direction in his coach, attended by the King's carriage and a number of others; however, by leaping a few fences, and taking a circuit through the fields, they also escaped that danger. 'At Canterbury,' says Sir Henry Wotton, in his life of Buckingham, 'whither some voice, as it should seem, was run on before, the Mayor of the town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, in a blunt manner, alleging first a warrant to stop them from the Council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner, master of the ceremonies, and lastly from Sir Henry Mainwaring, then lieutenant of Dover Castle. At all which confused fic-

* A house of the Marquess.

tion the Marquess had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being Admiral) of the forwardness of his Majestie's fleet, which was then in preparation in the narrow seas.' This satisfied the worthy magistrate. In the further prosecution of their journey, a post-boy, who had been at court, plainly showed that he knew who they were; but, as Sir Henry Wotton remarks, '*his* mouth was easily shut.' According to appointment, Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter, the only two persons who were chosen to accompany them, had already arrived at Dover, and hired a vessel to carry them over to France. The evening, however, proving stormy, they did not sail till next morning. A few hours sufficed to carry them over to Boulogne; and before that evening they had proceeded one or two stages into France. Continuing their journey on the succeeding day, they arrived, on the next again, at Paris; having once or twice been suspected, but never actually discovered, to be the Prince of Wales and Marquess of Buckingham.

Having resolved to spend the day after their arrival in seeing the court and other wonders of Paris, they supplied themselves each with a periwig, to cover their foreheads and deepen their disguise,* and then sallied forth into the city. They had the good fortune to see the young French monarch (Louis XIII.) at dinner, from a gallery, and afterwards the Queen-mother, without being dis-

* Periwigs were just about this time beginning to be used, without a regard to baldness.—*Wilson*.

covered at either place, though one of the persons who saw them there was Monsieur Cadinet, who had lately been ambassador in England. Towards the evening, as they were walking along a street, they found themselves become involved in a press of people who were all hurrying one way. Yielding themselves to this current, they were carried towards a place where the King's consort and sister, with a number of great court-ladies, were practising a masqueing dance, which was then in preparation. The greater part of the crowd were excluded from this spectacle; but Jack and Tom Smith were admitted, in consideration of their being strangers. Owing to this characteristic piece of politeness on the part of the French, Charles here got a peep at the Queen, the elder sister of the Spanish princess whom he was going to see, and also at the Princess Henrietta Maria, who was destined eventually to become his wife. In a joint letter to King James, the Prince and Marquess talk of this as an extraordinary piece of good fortune; and Charles makes the remark, that, as the Queen was the handsomest among twenty women whom he saw there, he had so much the greater desire to see her sister. He makes no remark upon Henrietta.

It is remarkable that, though their departure had been intrusted to no one besides the King, it was known at London on the first night, and very publicly talked of next morning. It spread a great alarm over the whole country; and, for a considerable time, nothing was talked of but the danger into which the heir-apparent had thrown himself, in trusting his person to foreigners and Catholics, who might make the possession of it the

means of wringing better terms from him, in a match which in itself was by no means eligible. The event proved, that Catholics and foreigners were possessed of the principles of honour as well as the Protestant English; but as yet nothing of that kind was so much as imagined. It was even feared by many that the Prince would never again be permitted to return to them. When James found that the expedition was no longer a secret, he despatched the Earl of Carlisle after the young travellers, to give them his advice and attendance, sent others to excuse their non-appearance at the French court to King Louis, and prepared a fleet to sail to Spain, with a retinue suitable to their rank, and to bring them home. *

After a journey of ten or twelve days, the Prince and Marquess reached Madrid late in a Saturday evening, and immediately made themselves known to the Earl of Bristol, the English ambas-

* He also issued a precept to the clergy, commanding them not to make the Prince's journey a matter of discussion in the pulpit, but simply 'to pray to God *to preserve him in his journey, and grant him a safe return unto us,* and no more, nor in any other words.' 'An honest plain preacher,' says Dr Mead in a contemporary letter, 'being loth to transgress the order given, desired in his prayer, "That God would returne our noble Prince home in safety to us again, *and no more:*" supposing the words *no more* to be a piece of the prayer enjoyned.' The King is found at this time writing the following brief letter to Baby Charles and Steenie:—

'Sweet Boyes, the Newis of your going is allreaddie so blowin abroade, as I ame forcid for youre safetie to poste this bearare after you, quho will give you his best advyce and attendance in your journey. God blesse you both, my sweet babes, and send you a safe and happie returne.—

JAMES, R.'

sador, who received them, as it may be supposed, with no small surprise. The ensuing day was not far advanced, before it was publicly rumoured in the city that a man of great distinction—some surmised the King of Great Britain—had arrived; and the Spanish monarch, about the same time, became aware of the real fact of the case, though etiquette would not permit him to take any notice of it. That evening, in consequence of an arrangement with the Conde D'Olivarez, the King came incognito, and had a conference with the Prince at the lodgings of the Earl of Bristol. Their meeting was, to appearance, a very cordial one.

'Towards the evening of Saturday, * the Marquis went in a close coach to court, where he had private audience of the King; who sent Olivarez (prime minister of Spain) to accompany him back to the Prince. Olivarez there kneeled and kissed his hands, and hugged his thighs, and declared how immeasureably glad his Catholic Majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr Porter did interpret. About ten o'clock that night, the King came in a close coach, with intent to visit the Prince, who, hearing of it, met him half-way; and, after salutations, and divers embraces, they parted late. Next day, in the afternoon, the King came abroad to take the air, with the queen, his two brothers, and the Infanta, all in one coach; the Infanta sitting in the boot, with a blue ribbon about her arm, of purpose that the Prince might distinguish her; and above twenty coaches of grandees, noblemen, and ladies, attended them. The Prince taking coach a little after,

* Howell's Letters.

went to the Prado, a place hard by the Earl of Bristol's house, where he staid till the King passed by. As soon as the Infanta saw the Prince, her colour rose very high; which we hold to be an impression of love and affection.' Charles found his mistress a fair-haired girl of sixteen, with a complexion of pure red and white; personal characteristics which she would appear to have derived from her German, rather than her Spanish ancestors.

There can be no doubt that he experienced the best treatment, in all external matters, that the Spanish court could bestow upon him. He was admitted to reside in the palace, with the privilege of a master-key, which could open all the King's apartments. The King himself gave him his right hand on all occasions. The Conde D'Olivarez, although a grandee of Spain, and therefore privileged to wear his hat before the King, always uncovered in Charles's presence. Into all, the council received orders to obey him as the King himself. The real end of his journey, however, was not facilitated by all these civilities. The Spaniards universally believed that he never could have undertaken such an expedition, without some intention of becoming a proselyte to the Infanta's religion. The court, therefore, retarded the negotiations, in the hope that a little time spent amidst them would reconcile him to a change of faith; an object, be it remarked, in which this people was as sincerely anxious, as the English could have been in regard to a corresponding change of the Infanta's creed. They even caused the Pope to write a letter to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of attempting his conversion. Charles answered it in civil terms; but

remained firm in that faith for which he was destined to die a martyr.

The time of his residence in Spain was spent in a ceaseless round of amusements—banquets, bull-fights, and tournaments—and he soon became a prodigious favourite with the people. The peculiar circumstances of his journey seem to have really made a deep impression on the hearts of this romantic nation. They conceived, that a man who could devise and execute a project so daring and chivalrous, deserved his mistress, as fairly as the knight who rescues her, at the peril of his life, from the castle of an oppressive giant; and they manifestly regretted that religion should still interpose a bar between them. Wherever he appeared in public, he was received with shouts of "Viva el Principe de Galles!" and many exclaimed that he should, without further ado, have his mistress thrown into his arms. His expedition, and his personal character, formed the theme of innumerable poets and miscellaneous writers, so as to become completely embalmed in that Augustan age of Spanish literature. *

* One stanza of a canzonet written on the occasion, by the celebrated Lopez de Vega, has chanced to wander to this country:—

Carlos Estuardo soy,
Que siendo amor mi guia
Al cielo de España voy
Por ver nir estrella Maria.

Translated thus:

Charles Stuart am I;
Love has guided me far
To this fair Spanish sky,
To see Mary my star.

There was, however, one disagreeable circumstance in his situation, over and above the misery arising from the endless negotiations. He was allowed to have very little intercourse with his mistress. When it is recollected, that one of his chief reasons for undertaking the journey, was the hope of gaining the Infanta's heart by personal application, it may be conceived with what fret of soul he endured the distance at which he was kept from her by the etiquette of the court—with what impatience he beheld the formal circle of which some segment or other was ever interposed between them. Even the formality of an interpreter was not judged a sufficient guard upon him; there were always some courtiers, besides, or some duenna of unrelenting brow, to observe that their interviews were conducted with propriety. But, indeed, he seldom or never saw her, except in public places, where the eyes of a whole multitude were perpetually fixed upon him. He never for a moment enjoyed the pleasure for which he had travelled so far, that of pouring his warm impassioned feelings into her ear, and pressing to his own tumultuous breast the heart which he wished to gain. Under these circumstances, scarcely knowing whether he loved or not, he is said to have sometimes sat at court-feasts, with his eyes fixed upon her in a kind of trance for half an hour unremittingly. At other times, he was known to wait in his coach for hours upon the street, merely that he might have the gratification of catching one momentary glimpse of her person as she passed. There is a strange story told, that, at length tired out of all patience with this chilling system, he forcibly endeavoured to procure an interview,

by leaping the enclosure of a garden where she was gathering May-dew; that, seeing her there by herself, he rushed towards her—had almost approached her—was going to throw himself at her feet—when, lo and behold, in rushed an old Marquis, the chief guardian of her sacred person, who, falling upon his knees before the Prince, conjured him to retire immediately, as, if he should be permitted to approach the Infanta, his (the Marquis's) head must pay the penalty. This, on the first of May, a day dedicated, time out of mind, to amorous inclinations, must have been particularly hard. We soon after find the Marchioness of Buckingham, talking seriously, in a letter, of some *perspective glasses* which she was commissioned to send out to the Prince from England, it having been at last found absolutely necessary to employ the phenomena of optics, to enable his Royal Highness to gratify himself even with the sight of his mistress. †

It may be amusing to trace the conduct of the King during the absence of his 'sweete boyis.' It was, upon the whole, more composed than

† Archy Armstrong, who joined the party at Madrid, is said to have made farther way than his betters at the Spanish court. Privileged by his fool's coat, he was one day flirting about in the Infanta's company, when somebody happened to make the remark, that it was surely wonderful how 15,000 men, under the Duke of Bavaria, should have discomfited the army of the Elector Palatine, which consisted of 25,000. To this Archy answered, that he could tell them a more wonderful thing than that. "Was it not strange," quoth he, "that, in the year 88, there should come a fleet of a hundred and forty sail from Spain to invade England, and that ten of these should not go back to tell what became of the rest?"

might have been expected from the behaviour which Clarendon attributes to him before their departure. He endeavoured to beguile the tedium of their absence, by maintaining with them a very close and regular correspondence, he, writing with his own hand, and in the most familiar style, while they answered in joint letters, composed in the same easy strain. It shows the strength of his affection towards them, that he should have written a letter on each of the three successive days, February 26, 27, and 28; altogether an extraordinary effort for him, considering the habitual 'sweirnes at the pen,' which he acknowledges in his letter to the Scottish council from Denmark in 1589, and taking into account, moreover, that, as he himself says in the letter of the 26th, 'their poor olde Dade is lamer now than ever he was, both in his right knee and foote, and wryttes all this out of his naked bedde.' He makes a boast, on the 15th of March, about a month after Buckingham and Prince Charles went away, of having also written 'fyve to Kaite [the Marchioness of Buckingham], two to Su [the Countess of Denbigh, sister to Buckingham], and one to thy mother, Steenie, and all with my awin hande.' In his letter of the 28th, dated at Newmarket, he says to them, in conclusion, 'I have no more to telle, but that I wear Steenie's picture in a blew ribben, under my wastcoate, nexte my hearte!' This would justify a surmise that there was something in James's attachment to favourites, like the sentiment which pervades the breasts of lovers. It is a trait of the *effeminacy* of his character, and reminds us of the craze of an old lady who has

been smitten by the charms of some blooming young man.

It may perhaps be said, that the character of the King is no where so distinctly traced as in these strange epistles. He seems to have thrown his whole heart into them, unrestrained by the slightest suspicion of their ever becoming public, and thinking of nothing but how he might give pleasure to his correspondents. They seem in every respect to be as perfectly the expression of his real mind, as the most unreserved words he could have uttered in his private chamber, where the man of state commonly undresses both mind and body. The following, for instance, which he wrote on the 1st of April, in answer to a question they had put to him, contains some striking self-drawn traits of his character: 'I wonder quhy ye showlde aske me the quæstion if ye showlde sende me any more jointe letres or not; alace! sweete hairtis, it is all my comfort in your absence that ye wrytte jointlie unto me, besydes the great ease it is both to me and you; and ye neede not doubte but I will be wairie enough in not acquainting my Counsell with any secreate in your letres. But I hawe been troubled with Hammilton [the Marquess of Hamilton], quho, being present by chawnce at my ressaving both of your first and seconde paquette out of Madrid, *wold needs peere over my showlder quhen I was reading thaime*, ofring even to helpe me to reade any harde wordis, and, in good faith, he is in this bussienesse, as in all thingss else, as variable and uncertaine as the Moone!' Afterwards, he says, 'But the newis of your glorious reception thaire makes me afrayed that ye will both miskenne your old Dade hear-

after.' Again, 'In earnist, my babie, ye must be spairing as ye can in your spending thaire.' At another place, in the very style of a nurse cajoling a child, 'My sweete gossope [Buckingham] shall have a fine shippe to go to Spain, to bring him home to his deare Dade.' Afterwards, to Charles, 'I pray you, my babie, take heade of being hurte if ye run at the tilte.' He concludes this letter, as he does many others, with 'God keepe you, my sweete boyes, with my fatherlie blessing, and send you a happie successful journey, and a joyefull and happie returne in the armes of your deare Dade.' Perhaps it is taking the poor King at disadvantage thus to show up his puling billets, written as they were so entirely without the idea that they should ever meet another eye than those for which they were intended; but every consideration, of course, must give way to the conveniences of history.

Another means which he had to beguile his time was the society of the female relations of Buckingham, and of their children, whom, during all his latter years, he seems to have constantly had about him. He tells Buckingham, in a letter of the 7th of April—'And now, my sweete Steenie and gosseppe, I muste give thee a shorte accounte of many things. First, Kate and thy sister supped with me on Saturdaye night laste, and yesterdaye both dined and supped with me, and soe shall doe still, with Godds grace, as long as I am heere, and my little grandchylde, [the Marquess's infant daughter Mary,] with her fowre teeth, is, God be thanked, well wained, and thaye are all very merrie.'* In such innocent and even childish subjects

* Mr Nichols, in giving this extract from James's cor-

of speculation did the British Solomon recreate himself in these his declining years.

No satisfactory solution has ever been given of the mystery which hangs over the disruption of the Spanish negotiation. The contract, after a thousand interruptions, was just on the point of being finally agreed upon; the Infanta was learning the English language, and had already, in consequence of a preliminary ceremony, assumed the title of Princess of England; in expectation of the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, a day not

respondence, adds the following rather severe note:—

'Though James's want of dignity does not require exemplification, it is a strong proof how completely he had identified himself with his favourite's family, that he should condescend to interest himself even in the weaning of this infant. It being desirable that an event of such deep interest to a British monarch should be elucidated as much as possible, the reader will be happy to understand, that the original document, by which the Marchioness of Buckingham announced that event to his Majesty, is, among the many billets of Buckingham, preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is as follows:—"May it pleas your Majestie, I have receved the two boxes of drid ploms and graps, and the box of violatt caks and chickens; for all which I most humbly thank your Majestie." [The King was constantly making them such presents; and Buckingham, in several of his billets in the same collection, calls James his *good man purveyor.*] "I hope my Lord Anan has told your Majestie that I mean to wene Mall very shortly. *I wood not by any means a don it, till I had first made your Majestie acquainted with it;* and by reason my cousin Brett's boy has binne ill of late, for fere she should greeve and spyle her milk, maks me very desirous to wene her, and I think she is olde enufe, and I hope will endure her wening very well; for I think there never was child card less for the brest than she dos; so I do entend to make trial this night how she will endure it," &c. &c.

far distant had been fixed upon, when the christening of the King of Spain's child, and the marriage of his sister, should be simultaneously celebrated; every person in the court, the Prince of Wales included, seemed to rejoice in the prospect of the final solemnity; when all at once that important individual announced his intention of returning home, leaving the Infanta to be married by proxy when the dispensation should arrive. The Catholic King received this intelligence with regret; nevertheless, as the Prince had been detained many months in expectation of the necessary precept from Rome, and as the winter was coming on, he could scarcely think it unreasonable. The two Princes took leave of each other, near the Escurial, with every token of respect and affection; his Catholic Majesty even ordered a monument, with a suitable inscription, to be reared on the spot where they had parted. Charles, however, had no sooner set his foot on board the English fleet, which waited for him at St Andero, than he publicly avowed resentment against the Spanish court for using him so ill; and he immediately sent back a letter to the Earl of Bristol, written by his own hand, commanding that minister on no account to implement the marriage till he should have further orders. He arrived in England, October 6th, determined, it would appear, to abandon all thoughts of the match.

The most probable reason that can be assigned for this strange revolution, is the interested policy of Buckingham, who, having irremediably disgusted the Infanta and her friends by his insolent bearing, and fearing of course that, in the event of a match, he should be ejected from the Prince's

favour, is supposed to have set himself to introduce contempt and hate into the mind of his young master, where formerly, if not absolute love, there was at least a strong disposition towards it. It might be supposed, that he could not break off the negotiation for fear of offending his elder master, whose heart had for so many years doated on the prospect of the Spanish alliance. But he knew that, so long as he possessed the entire affections of the Prince, and was doing a thing which was consistent with the wishes of the nation, he had little to dread from the infirm and aged King. The result showed that he did not miscalculate.

Charles, on reaching London, was received in those streets, through which he was destined some years after to be conveyed as a common malefactor, with demonstrations of popular rejoicing, which, for extravagance both in degree and kind, were never perhaps paralleled in the history of the nation. The gratification of the populace, however, could hardly equal that of his 'dear olde dadde,' which, if we are to believe Bishop Halket, was such as to 'surpass all relation.'—'His Majesty in a short while retired, and shut out all but his son and the Duke;* with whom he held conference till it was four hours in the night. They that attended at the door sometimes heard a still voice, and then a loud; sometimes they laughed, and sometimes they chafed; and noted such variety that they could not guess what the end might prove.' It turned out that evening at sup-

* Halket's Life of the Lord Keeper Williams. Buckingham had received a patent as Duke while in Spain, in reward for his services towards the very object which he was now engaged in neutralizing.

per, that the King was reconciled to the abandonment of the marriage, by information which the two adventurers gave him, as to the deceitfulness of Spain in the matter of the Palatinate. He let fall the memorable and honourable expression, that he would never wed his son with a portion of his daughter's tears. Yet probably this was but a temporary mood, and he might not the less be grieved next day, to think of the blight which had come over his long-cherished prospects, and the war into which he must now be precipitated.

The artifices practised by the English court to evade the performance of its sworn treaties were exceedingly base. Yet from the popular spirit already alluded to, that course was more heartily approved of by the nation than the fulfilment of its stipulations could have been; and for the time all sensation of dishonour was lost in the triumph of insulting an ancient enemy. Of course, the war which immediately became necessary, as it had always been wished in preference to peace and alliance, was equally a matter of general satisfaction. The Duke of Buckingham, who took the lead in causing it to be declared, became the most beloved character in the nation; and, with the exception of the King, who had still a mind to think correctly, though all power of command was given up to his son and favourite, there did not seem to have been an individual in the three kingdoms, who entered into the contest with reluctance.

The first proceeding in the war was necessarily the calling of a parliament to vote supplies. James met this assembly with humbled feelings—was now glad to ask their advice upon the subject of his

son's marriage, which just the preceding year he had forbidden them to speak of—and, in seeking for money, was so modest as to propose that it should be disbursed, not by himself, but by a committee of parliament. The senate entered heartily into his views regarding the war; and an army of six thousand men was soon after sent out to the Low Countries, to assist Count Mansfelt in the recovery of the Palatinate. It was evident, however, that he had left himself no influence in the empire—that every thing was now managed by Charles and Buckingham. That favourite had, since his return from Spain, become partly estranged from him, in order the better to secure the favour of Charles; yet such was the influence which long habit had fixed, that the poor King durst not make the slightest movement without the knowledge and consent of his beloved 'Steenie.' Under his Grace's direction, a treaty was entered into with France for the Princess Henrietta, as a match to the Prince of Wales; and, at his instance, the Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer of England, was prosecuted and condemned for alleged bribery, while his rival the Earl of Bristol, who had managed the Spanish negotiation with the most accomplished diplomatic skill, could hardly escape the same fate.

The Spanish court made a strange attempt at this time to release the monarch from a bondage which acted so violently against its interests. Inejosa, a minister of that country, still resided in London. He had long waited for an opportunity of speaking in private to the King, but never had found one, from the extreme vigilance with which he was watched by Buckingham and his

creatures. At length, he one day found an opportunity of slipping a paper into his Majesty's hand, warning him with a wink to conceal it till he should be alone. This disclosed to James that there was a conspiracy on foot, for the purpose of causing him to resign the sceptre in favour of his son. Effectually alarmed at the intelligence, he requested to be informed of all the particulars; when, two of the minister's friends being secretly introduced to him, he learned, to his infinite surprise, that Buckingham, the creature of his own hands, whom but yesterday he had elevated from the condition of a friendless adventurer to be the most powerful man in England, was at the head of the plot, and even entertained a design against his life. It is impossible to describe the consternation, the offended feeling, the utter wretchedness, which the King experienced at this disclosure. He was completely unfitted by it for taking any effectual measures of prevention. Next time Buckingham entered his presence, he gazed fondly and despondingly at him for some time, and then blurted out the maudlin exclamation, "Ah, Steenie, Steenie, wouldst thou kill me!" Of course, this provoked questions from Buckingham, which led to explanations from the King; after which only a few warm asseverations of innocence were required from the favourite to make all be forgiven and forgot.

The year 1624, the second last of his life, was thus spent by King James, in the experience, not only of much mental and bodily disease, but of a tyranny the most contemptible, and at the same time the most irresistible, that one man could exercise over another. The only refuge which the

poor monarch had, was to express, on all occasions when he thought himself safe, a peevish discontent at his situation, with a gentle censure of the proceedings of his son and favourite. This was the utmost length which his timid nature would permit him to go; when, in the presence of either of his tyrants, he endeavoured, in his fond forgiving good nature, to appear as familiar and gracious as ever. Buckingham, on the other hand, though still addressing him as his 'dear dad and gossip,' is observed, sometimes, in his letters, to take his Majesty to task very sharply regarding particular parts of his conduct. Occasionally, it happened, as the King could scarcely be prevented altogether from talking, that he would throw out hints against the measures which the two young men carried in opposition to his will; and, to do him justice, these hints were generally unexceptionable in point of theoretical wisdom. In reference, for instance, to the impeachments which they were presenting against the Earl of Middlesex, the Earl of Bristol, and others of his servants, who stood in their way, he uttered the prophetic remark to his son, that to bring public charges against the great officers of the crown, was just instructing the people to impeach sovereignty itself. But in regard to the real power of the government, he was reduced to little better than its nominal possession.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KING'S DEATH.

1625.

SINCE all manhood was thus dead in the King, and all that can make continued life respectable, it is more with a feeling of relief, than any other sensation, that we approach the period of his death. There is a pain in contemplating the goodly frame of a fellow-creature blasted by disease, or his mind darkened by madness, which ceases when we survey the accomplished work of the King of Terrors: the former are evils which the many pity in the few; the latter is an evil too much the common fate, and too certainly carrying with it a cure for all other ills, to be regarded with the same excited feelings.

One circumstance which added greatly to the misery of the aged King during his last year, was the death of his two nearest collateral kinsmen and most endeared friends, the Duke of Lennox, and the Marquess of Hamilton. These two noblemen, who had lived with him almost all their lives, enjoying their share in his good and bad fortune, were his cousins; and it would appear, that, midst the deceitful splendours of his court, where

no profession could be held above suspicion, he relished their natural and unsuborned affection with the keenest enjoyment. Having loved them in life with a brother's love, he now lamented them with a brother's sorrow. Indeed, as his son was now no longer what a son ought to be to a father, and as no other person was at hand to cheer him with one sincere signal of kindness, he seems to have felt himself, after their death, as a lonely and desolate man upon the earth. He despondingly remarked, with that power of prophecy which is so often thought to arise at the close of life, that, now when the branches were cut down, the stock could not be expected to survive long;' * and probably the spirit of the prediction was not unaccompanied by a wish that it might be fulfilled.

Towards the end of 1624, his Majesty's health became exceedingly infirm. 'He kept his chamber all that Christmas,' says Mr Chamberlain, 'not coming once to the Chapel, nor to any of the plays; only, in fair weather, he looked abroad in his litter *to see some flights at the brook.*' It was on the 4th of March 1625, † when residing at Theobald's, that he was attacked by his last fatal illness, a tertian ague, which, though proverbially understood to be not dangerous in spring, ‡ soon showed that it was to get the mastery over his unwieldy and distempered form. 'Whether this arose,' says Wilson, 'from his care for his grandchildren, or the hazard and danger of his own person at home (being ever full of fears), or his en-

* Spottiswoode, 546.
† Laud's Diary.
‡ Wilson's Great Britain, 285.

gagement in a war abroad (being contrary to his very nature), or whether his full feeding and constant use of sweet wines set his gross humours at work, or what other accident caused his distemper, is uncertain.' It is probable, from a hint given by a contemporary, a hint consistent with his known antipathy to medicine, that this malady would not have soon assumed an alarming appearance, if he had at once become perfectly amenable to the advice of his physicians. From this cause, or otherwise, the ague, after a few fits, degenerated into a dangerous fever which raged with such violence, says a court letter-writer, as to strike 'much sense and fear into the hearts of all that looked upon him.'

On Tuesday, March 22, when this fever was at its height, and the King in a great measure insensible, the Countess of Buckingham and her son the Duke took advantage of a temporary absence of the regular physicians, to administer to his Majesty a certain potion, and to apply to his side a certain plaster, which, with a credulity that no class of society was then exempted from, they had procured from an inferior or empiric mediciner, noted among the vulgar for the cure of agues. This, at least, is the gentlest and the most probable construction that can be put upon the conduct of the favourite and his mother; though we may mention, that a very general impression prevailed afterwards, that he entertained no other design than that of removing his old master, in order to give place to the new. Whether this was the case or not, it is certain that the symptoms of his Majesty's illness increased violently from that hour. On the ensuing Thursday, feeling himself for cer-

tain tending death-ward, he resolved to take the sacrament, which was accordingly brought to him.

When this holy rite was about to be administered, the Lord Keeper Bishop Williams, who attended him instead of his favourite clergyman, Bishop Andrews, then confined at home with gout, inquired if he was prepared, in point of faith and charity, for so solemn an act of devotion. James answered by thanking God that he was. Being asked to declare his faith, and to state what he now thought of the books he had written on that subject, he repeated the articles of the Creed one by one, adding, in conclusion, "There is no other belief, no other hope;" and, having expressed his adherence to the interpretation given to that document by the Church of England, he said, 'with a kind of sprightliness or vivacitie, that whatever he had written of this faith in his life, he was ready to seal with his death.' Questioned further, on the subject of charity, he declared that he forgave all men who had ever offended him, and desired to be forgiven by all men whom he had in anywise offended. The Bishop then asked what were his sentiments as to absolution, the right of which was assumed by the Church of England; when he replied, without the slightest hesitation, "I have ever believed that that power resides in the Church of England; and that was unto me an evident demonstration, amongst others, that the Church of England is, without all question, the Church of Christ: therefore I, a miserable sinner, do humbly desire Almighty God to absolve me from my sins, and you, that are his servants in that high place, to afford me this heavenly comfort." The absolution being accordingly pronoun-

ced, 'he received the Sacrament,' says Bishop Williams, reciting the transaction in a funeral sermon, 'with that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been a frail man, but a cherubim clothed with flesh and blood!'

The Prince of Wales and a great number of his attendants joined with him in this solemnity; and to them he addressed himself, after it was concluded, in a strain of the most devout and earnest piety. "Ah, my lords," said he, "if you would always do this when you are visited with sickness, you would be more comforted in your souls, and the world less troubled in questioning your religion." He afterwards expressed a desire to confer in private with his son; and all present were accordingly ordered to retire, except that individual. The subject of their conversation never became known; but that it was of serious import, seems probable from the care taken to prevent it from being overheard, all the attendants being withdrawn to the distance of two or three rooms.

During Friday and Saturday, his illness increased so much, that Sir William Paddy, one of his physicians, plainly told him that he could do no more than pray for his soul. His behaviour all along, and at this moment, is allowed to have been perfectly composed. Archbishop Abbot, who had now come at his request, to give him the benefit of his ghostly counsel, here joined Bishop Williams in requesting permission to pray for him; and accordingly, prayers were said by one or other of these prelates every hour till he died. They also caused him to adopt a pious expedient, said to have been practised by St Basil on his deathbed, that of uttering devotional ejaculations at every access

of his pains. Forty-one of these having been composed or selected for him, he ‘ was so ravished and comforted thereby,’ says Bishop Williams, ‘ that, when he would groan under the pangs of death, yet was he ever still and quiet when they were infused into him. To one of them,’ continues the Bishop, ‘namely “ Mecum eris in Paradiso,” he replied presently, “ Vox Christi ! ” meaning that he believed it to be the voice and promise of Christ. Another, “ Veni, Domine Jesu, veni citò,” he twice or thrice repeated.’ All this time, his eyes were cast devoutly towards heaven, and every gesticulation and every expression betokened how entirely he was absorbed in the solemn task of preparing himself for dissolution.

He died on Sunday, the 27th, about noon, just as his religious attendants had concluded the prayer which the Church of England has appointed for dying persons; the last sentence, ‘ In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum,’ having just left their mouth, when, as Bishop Williams informs us, ‘ without any pangs or convulsions at all, *dormivit Salomon*, Solomon slept.’ The pious manner of his death, and the real magnanimity which he displayed under such trying circumstances, excited, we are told, the admiration of all who were present; and it must certainly be acknowledged that, whatever symptoms of irreverence or timidity he might have betrayed in the course of life, he was neither infidel nor coward at its conclusion.

James died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and just as he had completed the twenty-second year of his reign as King of Great Britain. Over Scotland he had reigned nearly fifty-eight years; a period, it may be remarked, during which it

made a greater advance from barbarism towards civilization, than during any whole century of its previous history. His son Charles, now in his twenty-fifth year, was proclaimed King that afternoon at London.

Some of the *post-mortem* appearances of King James may lead, in the eyes of certain persons, to ideas regarding his character. On his body being opened two days after death, his heart was found to be very large, but soft; which Sir Simonds D'Ewes remarks to have 'argued him very considerate, and therefore too fearful ever to attempt great actions.' His liver was as fresh as it generally is in youth; one of his kidneys very good, but the other shrunk so little that it could hardly be found; his lungs, gall, and the blood in general, black; which the physicians of that day argued to proceed from the melancholy under which he latterly suffered. What is the most remarkable circumstance, and that which will probably excite greatest speculation in the present age, his head, which was so exceedingly hard that it could scarcely be broken open with a chisel and saw, *seemed to contain an unusual quantity of brain*; insomuch that they could hardly keep it from spilling. A contemporary writer considers this to have been 'a mark of his infynite judgment;' and we have no doubt that certain philosophers of our own day will feel inclined to follow up the remark.

THE END.

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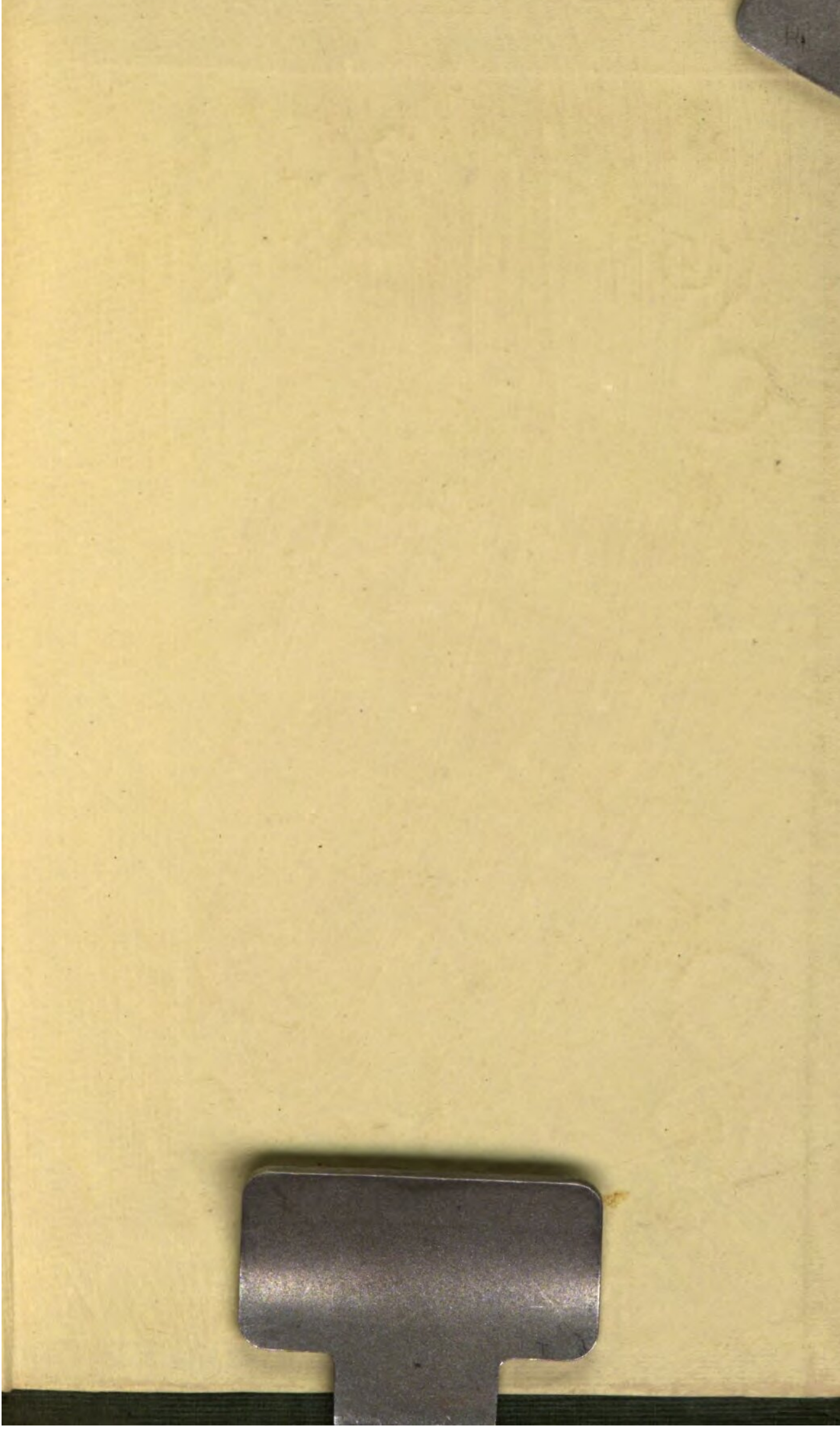

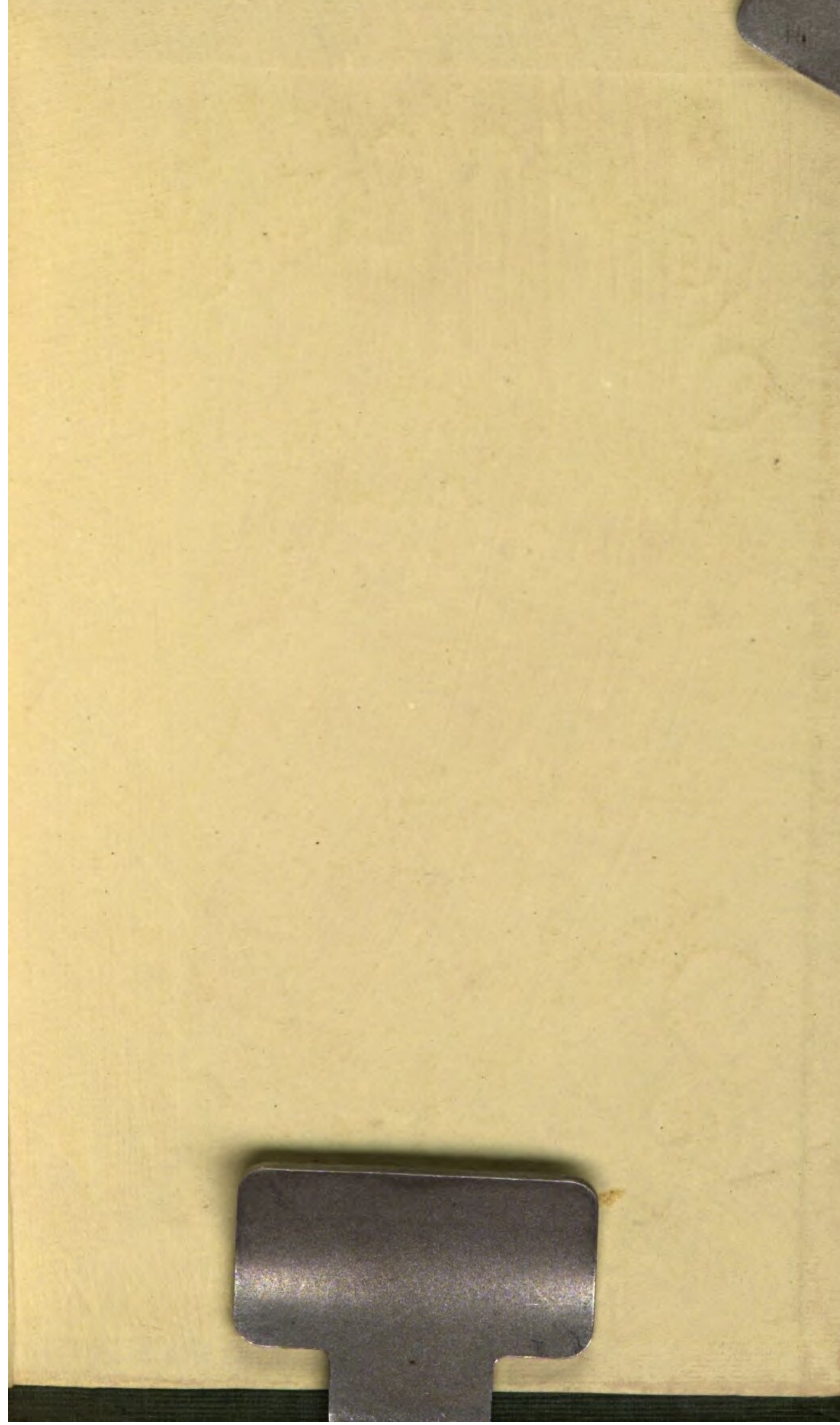

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